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CIS Intergovernmental Oil, Gas Council Meets

PM2406095993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Vladimir Yefimov: "Union Treaty Ratified by Oil"]

[Text] Tyumen—A session at which members of the intergovernmental council for oil and gas suggested to the governments and parliaments of the CIS countries that they use their joint efforts to introduce order to the system of mutual accounting between suppliers and consumers of energy carriers has ended in Tyumen. Tough monitoring of the decisions which have been made must be implemented by a unified legislative mechanism. It will help the enterprises of the fuel and energy complex to implement mutually advantageous joint activity within the traditional framework of cooperation which has taken shape over decades. These proposals are contained in an appeal to the heads of government, the parliaments, and the interparliamentary assembly adopted by the CIS countries' ministers of the fuel and energy complex at the Tyumen session.

Essentially it is a case of the restoration of the union of states within the framework of the fuel and energy complex. Is it possible in one individual sector? The results of the winter's Surgut agreement keep us from excessive optimism. The participating countries are not fulfilling their commitments for paying for the energy carriers they have received and are failing to provide adequate quantities of the necessary equipment to Russia's oil industry complex.

This ineffectiveness of the Surgut agreement although its signatories are very interested in cooperation is explained to a considerable degree by the lack of viable mechanisms for its implementation. That is why in the very near future the council of ministers of the fuel and energy complex intends to study the creation of a single financial system which would facilitate mutual accounting between enterprises and the implementation of investment projects. In the ministers' opinion its basis should be a fuel and energy complex interstate bank. It will be located in Tyumen and its corporation capital will probably be 100-150 billion rubles.

Work has begun on the creation of a permanent fair and exhibition of energy carriers and equipment for their production.

Considering the unpredictability of the political situation, the ministers are operating cautiously, regarding the decisions made in Tyumen as merely a prologue to larger-scale joint projects.

CIS Agro-Industrial Documents Signed

LD2406210293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent A. Abramenko; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha considers that the session of the CIS intergovernmental council on agro-industrial complex issues could serve as an example for other sectors in the creation by all the republics of a CIS common market.

The conclusion reached by the plenipotentiary representatives of the countries of the former Union during two days of discussion of agro-industrial complex problems at Rostov-on-Don is that it is better for us to show concern for our daily bread together.

Today, on the final day of their work, they signed a number of important documents showing that the time has come for sensible economic forms of cooperation. The countries agreed to create an intergovernmental scientific-technical center, which will coordinate work in the area of agricultural machine-building. A protocol was signed on carrying out intergovernmental trade and economic agreements on reciprocal deliveries of material and technical resources for the agricultural complex. Finally they adopted an appeal to the heads of state, parliament and government of the council's member countries that they elaborate a mechanism for reciprocal settlements, which are at present acting as one of the main brakes on the path of cooperation.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 25 Jun

LD2506070193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0640 GMT 25 Jun 93

["Russian Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 25 ITAR-TASS—Most of today's Russian newspapers lead with stories about the session of the Russian Supreme Soviet (parliament), which took place on Thursday. Its key point was a report by Nikolay Makarov, the leader of a special commission of the procurator-general's office which investigated materials connected with corruption in the top echelons of power in the Russian Federation.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) writes that "the commission received more than 20 materials from Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and the parliament commission in charge of looking into interpellations and statements by a group of people's deputies. According to Nikolay Makarov, investigation has begun relating to more than 50 questions requiring an evaluation from the point of view of the law".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA stresses in an item entitled "the parliament has no confidence in Shumeyko" that the parliament, after listening to Makarov's report and discussing it, "expressed no confidence in the first vice premier of the Russian Government, Vladimir Shumeyko, and the chairman of the Federal Information Centre Mikhail Poltoranin and proposed that Russian President Boris Yeltsin relieve them of their duties immediately in connection with the institution of criminal proceedings in several cases of corruption".

PRAVDA extensively quotes Makarov on its front page and stresses that "corruption in Russia is flourishing with the connivance of the president", and that the investigation has only "touched the tip of the iceberg of infractions of the law by the top executive officials of the Russian Federation".

The same newspaper publishes Vyacheslav Semenov's comment in which he criticises the activity of the parliament defence committee. According to Semenov, "political sympathies prevail over professional ethics and impartiality in the activity of the committee and particularly of its chairman, who are becoming yes- men of the executive". In this connection, the author calls for considerable changes in the composition of the committee and for the replacement of its chairman because Sergey Stepashin "has shown no particular brilliance in his practical work aimed at ensuring the state's security".

The press carries reports about an unprecedented traffic accident in one of Moscow's main traffic arteries, the Dmitrovskoye highway, on Thursday. A gasoline tank collided with a vehicle, sparking off a conflagration, which killed ten people and severely burned about 30 people who had to be hospitalised. Several trolleybuses, a bus and cars burned down.

"Is Kazakhstan leaving the rouble zone?" the newspaper TRUD wonders. "Kazakhstan has announced a tougher finance-and-credit policy, a decisive turn towards meeting its internal economic needs and self sufficiency, as well as "a probable introduction of its own national currency". This is a conclusion drawn by the newspaper from the results of an economic conference held by President Nazarbayev a short time ago.

The newspaper PRAVDA, reporting on the developments in Kazakhstan, cites Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko, who said a recent governmental-level meeting failed to solve the key questions relating to finance and credit relations and mutual settlements between Russia and Kazakhstan. An impression is being created that Kazakhstan is being pushed to withdraw from the rouble zone, according to the republic's prime minister.

The Russian Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik calls for radical changes of "our rules of the game in the energy sector". In his article published by RUSSKIYE VESTI the minister urges price liberalisation in the fuel and energy complex. The past eighteen months during which prices were deregulated in the industry but remained regulated in the fuel sector have led to some sad paradoxes. For instance, the energy consumption in the Russian industry has increased by 34 percent in the past two years. "if we do not get rid of this imbalance, the reform is doomed to failure even if we have a successful overall privatisation", the minister said.

Yeltsin Receives UNESCO Director General

LD2506100393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0942 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Suprun and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin is meeting UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor in the Kremlin today. Federico Mayor is in the country on his first official visit.

The Russian president and the UNESCO director-general are discussing a range of problems relating to the further development of cooperation between the Russian Federation and this authoritative international organisation which is rendering tangible assistance to Russia in education reforms, law-making, and the adaptation of science, education and culture to conditions of a market economy.

Earlier today, Federico Mayor had a meeting with the minister for science and technical policy of the Russian Federation, Boris Saltykov. During their meeting, the parties signed a memorandum on interaction between the Russian Federation and UNESCO in the fields of culture, science and information.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is expected to receive Federico Mayor later today.

'Memorandum on Interaction' Signed

LD2506111393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0759 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—The Russian minister for science and technical policy, Boris Saltykov and UNESCO Secretary-General Federico Mayor today signed a memorandum on interaction between the Russian Federation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

In the field of education, the memorandum provides for UNESCO's assistance to Russia in the development of new legislation to reform preschool education, supply special curricula for disabled children and establish "UNESCO departments" at higher educational establishments.

In the scientific sphere, the emphasis will be on the basic sciences. Ecological monitoring and the preparation of a global energy concept will be in the focus of attention. In addition, both countries are interested in the integration of the Russian higher school in the world scientific system. The memorandum notes that UNESCO's assistance must help solve the most pressing problems—conversion and brain drain.

In the cultural field, UNESCO will assist in the reconstruction and modernisation of the Hermitage, the Russian state library and the buildings of the Bolshoy Theatre.

For its part, Russia will assist UNESCO in its statutory activities, including the further development of the ongoing projects of the world cultural development decade.

Chernomyrdin U.S. Visit Postponed Pending G-7 Talks

LD2506092693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0828 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jun—The press center of the Council of Ministers of Russia has announced that according to an agreement between the governments of both states, a visit to the United States by Viktor Chernomyrdin, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Government of the Russian Federation, was postponed for the period after the Tokyo meeting of the heads of the G-7 states. The understanding was achieved that the visit might be more productive after the results of the meeting of the heads of the G-7 countries in Tokyo and a bilateral meeting between the presidents of both countries on 10 July. At the present time experts of the sides are intensively working on the settlement of problems which are still unsolved.

'Abrupt Exacerbation' in U.S. Ties

PM2406170793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Shalnev: "Viktor Chernomyrdin's U.S. Trip Off"]

[Text] Washington—The news in Washington is that the Russian premier's visit to the United States has been canceled [otmenen]. Moscow and Washington were unable to reach a compromise on matters that had to be decided in order that the premier might come to the United States and sign a number of very promising agreements on cooperation.

Difficulties arose over supplies of Russian missile technology to India and over the question of making all countries of the CIS and not just Russia subject to the rules of nonproliferation of missile technology.

According to my information, in the last act but one of the behind-the-scenes debate about whether the visit was on or not, the sides exchanged ultimatums. We told the Americans that we expected them to agree by Thursday morning Moscow time at the latest to conclude accords on space. The Americans said they expected us to be willing to "comply" with Washington's wishes and demands.

As I recall, this has happened only twice before in the history of relations between our countries: In April 1986 Shevardnadze canceled his meetings with Secretary of State Schultz as a protest against the U.S. bombing of Libya; three years before that Gromyko had refused to go to America because the authorities there, voicing anger at the destruction of the South Korean Boeing over Sakhalin, refused to allow the Soviet minister's aircraft to land.

The reasons for the cancellation of the visit, which would have been the first visit at such a high level since the Democratic administration took office in Washington, have yet to be carefully analyzed. But certain facts are pretty clear already. Neither Washington nor Moscow was able to display the flexibility and amenability which would have enabled a compromise to be reached. The sides preferred to trade ultimatums, although they must have realized that some of the demands could never be met. For example, Moscow was told to "deal with" the contract for the supply of missile technology to India before 15 July. It was just physically impossible to fit in with that in view of the enormous mass of problems associated with the modification of the contract, let alone its cancellation.

It was unrealistic also to demand of us that the other CIS countries should be covered by the missile nonproliferation rules. Obviously the Americans should conduct negotiations on this directly with those countries.

So the visit is off, or, if you want to put it more diplomatically, it has been postponed, although no one is prepared to say at the moment when it will actually take place or whether it will take place at all. As for the questions which have caused an abrupt exacerbation of relations between Russia and the United States, they, as I understand it, will now be at the top of the agenda for the meeting that Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton will be having in Tokyo at the beginning of July.

Kozyrev, U.S. Ambassador Discuss G-7 Summit

LD2406150793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev received U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Thomas Pickering, the Russian Foreign Ministry information directorate reported on Thursday.

The sides discussed preparations for the summit of the G7 nations and Russia in Tokyo, urgent issues of Russian-American relations in the context of Vancouver understandings and the bilateral talks between the Russian and U.S. presidents after the G7 summit.

The sides also considered developments in Azerbaijan, the sitution in Estonia and other Baltic states, including the situation with the rights of Russian-speaking population.

Kozyrev Meets UK's Hogg; G-7 Summit Discussed

LD2406125993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1225 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jun—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev today had a meeting with Douglas Hogg, Great Britain's minister of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs. Welcoming the guest, Andrey Kozyrev noted with satisfaction that the dialogue between Russia and Great Britain was being maintained on a constant basis, at all levels, and was businesslike and specific.

We do have something to consult each other on, said Andrey Kozyrev, especially on the eve of the G-7 Tokyo meeting. He said that this meeting would be successful and justified "if it is concluded with the adoption of a package of measures to develop interaction and cooperation among states."

In the course of the conversation, there took place an exchange of views on the situation in the CIS countries, the problems of settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and also on some aspects of relations between Russia and Great Britain.

Chubays Discusses Privatization With G-7 Envoys

LD2406203393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Anatoliy Chubays, deputy chairman of the Russian Government and chairman of the State Committee for Management of State Property, held talks in Moscow today with the ambassadors of the G-7 countries. He told the ambassadors about the pace, progress, and prospects of privatization in Russia. The issue of the G-7 countries setting up a privatization support fund for Russia was also discussed.

Kozyrev Meets CSCE Official, Discusses Estonian Policies

LD2406143293 Tallinn Radio Estonian Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Max van der Stoel, CSCE high commissioner for minorities, met today in Moscow. According to Andrey Kozyrev, in addition to other issues, the law on foreigners recently adopted in Estonia was discussed. The Russian foreign minister called the law discriminatory. It would provide an opportunity for pursuing a policy of a kind of ethnic apartheid with clean hands.

He also added that with the adoption of the new law addditional obstacles have been created against Russian

troop withdrawal from from Estonia, inasmuch as it is easier to withdraw troops under normal rather than tense circumstances.

Max van der Stoel hoped that his upcoming visit to Estonia would help to ease the situation in this Baltic country. He considered it extremely important that the Estonian Government and the Russian-speaking population maintain a dialogue.

Foreign Ministry Statement

LD2406211593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2039 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kuzmin]

[Text] Vienna June 24 TASS—Russian Foreign Ministry has made a statement on the problem of human rights of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia at the CSCE forum on cooperation in the area of security currently held in Vienna. The statement was circulated today as an official document of the CSCE.

It is most important now to draw the attention of the CSCE to the Baltic region, where the most unfavourable situation in Europe has developed, caused by mass violations of human rights in Estonia, Vladimir Shustov, head of the Russian delegation to the forum, told ITAR-TASS.

He pointed out that the situation is primarily connected with legislative acts and resolutions recently adopted by Estonian state agencies, which had sharply worsened the situation around Russian troops and further deteriorated the position of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia.

It is apparent that Tallinn is pursuing the goal of aggravating the relations with Russia and present Estonia in the eyes of the West in the role "of a small offended neighbour."

Unfortunately, sometimes such tactics work to give certain advantages to the Estonian authorities. Many European countries obviously underestimate the danger of aggressive nationalism, which is gathering momentum in Estonia.

At the Vienna forum the Russian delegation declared that the Russian side is open to any form of political and diplomatic interaction for purposes of normalising the relations with the Baltic states. At the same time we cannot impassively observe the Russian-speaking population in Estonia being turned into an object of experiments which are nationalistic in essence. If the situation does not change one cannot rule out that Russia will have to take additional measures for the protection of the population.

Outlining our position, we hope to find understanding from our foreign partners and international organisations and count on their effective influence on Estonia in order to prevent further aggravation of the conflict. During talks in Vienna, the Russian side suggested that CSCE countries come out for cancelling discriminatory resolutions taken by Estonian authorities. The actual lessening of tension in the Baltics would testify to feasibility of the CSCE peace-keeping potential and strengthening of international positions of the Helsinki Process, the Russian diplomat said.

Law May Provoke Sanctions

MK2406095693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 3

[Sergey Tsekhmistrenko, Anastasiya Romashkevich report: "Russian-Estonian Relations. Russia May Impose Sanctions on Estonia"]

[Text] Russian and Estonian official spokesmen explained their countries' views yesterday on the Estonian parliament's adoption of the law "On Foreigners" (KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported the law on 19 and 23 June). Juri Kahn, Estonian ambassador to Moscow, tried to justify the action of his government by the need to transform Estonia into "a normal state with European traditions." The essence of Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin's statement boiled down to the fact that Russia planned to take a number of "political, economic, and other measures" with regard to Estonia in order to prompt the Estonian authorities to modify the process of this "transformation," which is "discriminatory to the Russian-speaking minority."

According to Vitaliy Churkin, Russia intends to react to the adoption of the law "in the most serious manner." On 24 June, Ambassador Aleksey Glukhov, the Russian foreign minister's personal representative and who is authorized to conduct talks with the Estonian leadership, will leave for Tallinn. It is on the results of the talks that the matter of sanctions against Estonia will be decided—the Russian Foreign Ministry will submit appropriate proposals to President Boris Yeltsin, who, according to Churkin, "is following the development of the situation most closely." The Russian diplomat would not specify what measures may be taken, but he pointed out that they "may influence our trade and the progress of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonian territory."

Sensing the firmness of the Russian stance, the Estonian side appears to have started to search for a compromise. Noting that Russia's viewpoint was influenced primarily by "domestic political problems in Moscow," Estonian Ambassador Juri Kahn said at yesterday's press conference that a number of "contentious issues" related to the legal status of servicemen, including retired ones, and their families would continue to be discussed at the bilateral talks. He pointed out that the law "On Foreigners" did not dot all the i's—the Estonian Government plans to "go on with drawing up documents regulating the position of foreigners and matters related to their assumption of the Estonian citizenship."

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Jovanovic in Moscow

LD2406215593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2137 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 24 (TANJUG)—Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), arrived in Moscow on Thursday night on a working visit to the Russian Federation. This is the first visit of an F.R.Y. foreign minister to Russia.

On Friday, Jovanovic will confer with his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev about the latest developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina and results of the Geneva talks on the division of this ex-Yugoslav republic into three ethnic communities (Muslim, Serb, Croat).

Jovanovic was welcomed by Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin who is special Russian envoy to the talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

FRY Defense Minister Views Origins of Conflict

PM2406121993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 3

[Interview with Pavle Bulatovic, minister of defense of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by special correspondent Sergey Sidorov; place and date not given: "Pavle Bulatovic: "New Alliances Are in the Sphere of Supposition"]

[Text] Belgrade-Moscow—Pavle Bulatovic is the minister of defense of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. He was born in Montenegro in 1948. He is a trained economist. He has worked as chief editor of the UNIVERZITETSKA REC newspaper. In 1988 he was elected delegate to the Montenegro Assembly. In 1992 he became minister of internal affairs in the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) Government. He has been in his present post since March 1993.

[Sidorov] Minister, you are the first civilian head of the military department in the history of Yugoslavia. You yourself no doubt also consider this fact to be specially significant.

[Bulatovic] Obviously, apart from the fact that I have been entrusted with an exceptionally responsible post, it is important for the country's democratic development. Journalists have worked out that a civilian is heading the Ministry of Defense for the first time in 133 years of Serbian and Montenegrin statehood. So my task is to put this democratic idea into practice and, together with the ministry's staffers, ensure the successful functioning of the FRY defense system in the present difficult conditions.

[Sidorov] Let us discuss these conditions and their influence on the Yugoslav state's military policy. You were, after all, forced to start work in an emergency situation.

[Bulatovic] In actual fact, many acts of aggression have been committed against the new Yugoslavia in the one year of its existence. I would single out as the gravest of these the economic sanctions, the general blockade, the psychological-propaganda warfare, the open support and assistance given to all those who are working on destroying our state, and intelligence-gathering activity by space, air, and other systems....

It is not easy to be minister at a time when sanctions prevail and the country is living under the pressure of them. We are being subjected to sanctions, but we are not participating in the war! Therefore there is no way we can assess them other than as a display of hatred for the Serbs, as vengeance on the part of forces which suffered defeat in previous wars. These sanctions are not only having a painful effect on our country and our neighbors, but also on countries which are part of a wider sphere. We are particularly worried about the way sanctions have been imposed in a situation of disturbed global equilibrium, because this may become the practice of the creators of the "new world order." Today the FRY is practically isolated; it has been turned into a ghetto and excluded from international organizations of which it was a founder. But we have the forces and the motivation to protect the country's freedom, independence, and territorial integrity despite the fact that there is a civil war in progress on our borders, and that there exist not only external threats to our peaceful life but internal ones also—on the part of various nationalist and chauvinist forces.

What problems is the FRY Ministry of Defense encountering? The shortest answer is: Ensuring the conditions the Yugoslav Army needs for the rational and effective implementation of its defense function. The powers of the federal ministry and the Yugoslav Army General Staff have been demarcated by the FRY Constitution. The ministry I head is responsible for the overall preparation of the country's defense, the determination of policy in the defense sphere, military economy, inspection activity.... As for the Yugoslav Army, it has been given the decisive role in the country's entire defense system. In peacetime and wartime alike the Army is controlled by the Supreme Defense Council via the General Staff.

[Sidorov] Does Yugoslavia today have a formulated military doctrine? I realize all the relativity of such a question in the current situation whereby the FRY finds itself at the center of many world and European contradictions, which, furthermore, are nowhere near any specific form of settlement. But nevertheless....

[Bulatovic] It is natural that every state and army must have a formulated military doctrine. However, I think that military doctrine is not a constant. It is always being added to, depending on international and domestic circumstances.

The pivotal idea of the FRY's doctrine is to avert aggression and to prepare for the defense of the country

with all available forces and means. Our military doctrine is based on experience and knowledge of the theory and practice of people's wars in general, and the liberation wars of the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro in particular. Thus, the FRY's military doctrine is the doctrine of a people's war based on a military force organized, armed, and trained in the modern fashion.

The political aim of such a people's war is to ensure the freedom and independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and also the constitutional system of the country. The military aim of a defensive war is to defeat and destroy the armed forces of the aggressor or inflict such losses on his forces—primarily in terms of manpower—that he will be forced to abandon his military aims.

We do not consider anyone to be an aggressor a priori—they will reveal themselves with a specific act of aggression. The same applies to allies. At present we do not have alliance treaties with anyone, although I am sure that in a possible war we would enter into an alliance based on common interests with states which would give us concrete assistance and support.

[Sidorov] In Russia today there are various views on the future system of European security. One of them amounts to making NATO the basis of such a system. Do similar views exist in Yugoslavia?

[Bulatovic] Here is how I would answer this question: As a result of the collapse of the USSR, the security system based on the balance between the two superpowers has disintegrated. To replace it, a so-called universal security system under the aegis of the United Nations but headed by the one remaining superpower—the United States—is being imposed. This change in the correlation of forces in the world has led to disintegration in the Balkans, where the interests of the individual powers are currently being actively asserted. How successful their intentions will be is an open question at the moment. It depends less on the FRY or any other country in the Balkans than on relations between the leading world powers. Therefore we expect that the Russian Federation will also declare its geopolitical and military-strategic interests in the Balkans. History teaches us that the fate of small states is, unfortunately, determined by the great powers irrespective of the results of wars.

NATO is continuing to insist—and it is proving successful in this—on having rights which contravene even fundamental NATO documents. Under the UN "umbrella" it is undertaking actions in countries which are not members of this alliance. I fear that this cannot be the path to universal security, it cannot be the path of peace.

Here is an example of the violation of the principles and aims of the Helsinki process. The "empty chair" and "right of intervention" in its internal affairs was unlawfully introduced for the FRY by the dispatch of missions to monitor observance of the rights of ethnic minorities—which are supposedly under threat—in Kosovo, Metohija, Vojvodina, and Raska region (Sandjak). Despite this, however, the FRY will continue to support the idea of collective security on the principles of the CSCE and the United Nations.

[Sidorov] Do you think the formation of new military-political and regional alliances is possible?

[Bulatovic] New integrations are possible—on a military-strategic, economic, and even spiritual basis. But these are in the sphere of supposition, because as yet we have no firm evidence for such conclusions.

[Sidorov] But could the FRY nevertheless be a party to such an alliance?

[Bulatovic] It is difficult to answer yes or no at the moment because we find ourselves in a kind of bell jar as it were, without the necessary communications or diplomatic ties. But I can say with certainty that the FRY remains faithful to its principles and aspires to cooperation with all countries based on equal rights, and without the right of intervention in each other's internal affairs.

In the military sense, Yugoslavia has hitherto never been a party to any organization or alliance because it has believed that the stance of nonalignment suits it best in order for it to be open to cooperation with all countries.

[Sidorov] To my mind, there is a certain paradox in the fact that the former SFRY, which kept itself equidistant from NATO and the Warsaw Pact, has in fact become the first victim of the cessation of confrontation between them....

[Bulatovic] This is possibly true. But how then can you attribute the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the disintegration of certain countries in the Eastern bloc to one and the same philosophy? The thesis that socialism was unable to withstand competition with contemporary capitalism seems more accurate to me. And when the economy is destroyed, the remaining systems quickly disappear.

Going back to the question of a future security system, it must be stressed that cooperation is necessary no matter what. But as for whether it should be in the form of an institution—that is a question of evaluating each specific case. Whether you have a greater degree of freedom and autonomy and the appropriate guarantees when you belong to a military-organizational alliance or when you independently build your own political system is also a question that remains open.

[Sidorov] What do you see as a lasting and just settlement of the Yugoslav crisis?

[Bulatovic] The settlement of the crisis in the former SFRY republics would be most greatly assisted if certain countries and organizations stopped offering them their assistance! After all, it is ridiculous: The Serbs in Yugoslavia are being accused of aggression, but I ask you—how can you be the aggressor in a civil war or an

aggressor in your own home? With the help of a psychological propaganda mechanism an impression of the Serbs and of Yugoslavia which goes beyond the bounds of what is reasonable has been foisted on the world. As for a settlement in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina, we envisage it as agreement being reached between all three peoples—the Serbs, the Croats, and the Muslims. And that is the principled stance of the FRY.

Chernomyrdin's Visit to Kiev Previewed

MK2406091693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under the "Talks" rubric: "Viktor Chernomyrdin Leaves for Kiev. Fate of Russian Oil and Gas Supplies to Ukraine May Be Decided"]

[Text] The Russian premier's visit to Kiev soon after the Moscow meeting of Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Kravchuk is likely to indicate what transpired between them. After their meeting, both Kravchuk and Yeltsin said they were pleased with the outcome of the talks. A week has passed, but there is no hard evidence that the Black Sea Fleet situation is being normalized, or that at least one of the ships that hoisted the St. Andrew's flag is ready to agree with the procedure on division approved by the presidents. On economic matters (oil and gas supplies to Ukraine), the sides could not agree at all, although this was not a subject Kravchuk and Yeltsin negotiated. Perhaps it was something the Ukrainian leadership urged. Having only just stabilized the energy situation, Ukraine's leaders can indeed start moving toward stabilizing the country's overall economic situation. Should Viktor Chernomyrdin refuse his Ukrainian partners a transition period, however short, should the matter of world prices of oil and gas be made contingent on the matter of world prices of transportation of energy sources across the territory of Ukraine to Europe in a manner making it impossible for Ukraine to pay for Russian fuel, that would amount to passing sentence on the Leonid Kuchma government, in fact, not on the Kuchma government alone, but also on a succession of future cabinets—you cannot very well stabilize the economy on an empty fuel tank.

Viktor Chernomyrdin will find it hard to talk in Kiev also because they, in the corridors of power in Kiev, are still unsure of their own powers. In the wake of Leonid Kravchuk's edict that virtually imposed an emergency economic situation, and of the suspension of this edict literally days later under the prime minister's pressure, neither the president nor the premier can think of themselves as people vested with real economic powers that go at least as far as guaranteeing to Chernomyrdin that the terms of the Russo-Ukrainian accords (if they are reached at all) would be honored. The president is preparing for a referendum; the government is trying to hold out in an endless struggle for its own rights. Nevertheless, shortly before the Russian prime minister's visit, delegations of the two countries have begun discussing a point that is the biggest sore in bilateral relations and the most vital for Ukraine's survival—how much will oil and gas cost?

To Meet Kuchma 'Next Week'

LD2506103993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0459 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolsky]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—The head of government of the Russian Federation Viktor Chernomyrdin will make a two-day tour of the cities of Kharkov, Rostov, and Nikolayev next week, he told journalists late on Thursday night [24 June] on the way back to Moscow from Kiev where he had been on a brief working visit.

According to the Russian premier, he will take part in a meeting of representatives of the border regions of Russia and Ukraine in Kharkov. The Ukrainian delegation to the forum will be led by the head of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers Leonid Kuchma.

Agreement on Gas Prices Reached With Ukraine

LD2406220293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2058 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—Russia and Ukraine reached agreement on gas prices, Yuriy Shafranik, Russian minister for fuel and power, told ITAR-TASS upon returning from Kiev. An appropriate document was signed at the last moment after the conclusion of the official programme of Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to Kiev.

The agreement stipulates all matters concerning gas prices, transportation tariffs and Ukraine's debt for the delivery of Russian gas, Shafranik said.

The two sides determined a scheme to bring prices to the world level. A starting price for 1,000 cubic metres of gas will be 42,000 roubles. It is expected that by January 1, next year, Ukraine, in its settlements with Russia for gas, will proceed from a price of 80 dollars per 1,000 cubic metres.

U.S., Turks Back Elchibey; Russia 'Warning' Ankara

PM2406155793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Konstantin Eggert report: "Washington and Ankara Support President Elchibey"]

[Excerpts] State Department Spokesman Michael McCurry has stated: "The United States supports the democratically elected government of President Abdulfaz Elchibey and will view with great concern any attempt to remove it by unconstitutional methods."

Turkey sided with the Americans. President Suleyman Demirel sent a message of support to the Azerbaijani leader, who is in his native village in Nakhichevan. Acting Prime Minister Erdal Inonu called Elchibey's violent overthrow "unacceptable to Turkey." [passage omitted]

According to the information available, Moscow's official reaction to the events in the neighboring state can be expected soon. Its two main points will probably be the "constitutionality" of the political changes and the "impermissibility of any interference in Azerbaijan's internal affairs." The second premise sounds like a veiled warning to Turkey. As for Russia, which has an open border with Azerbaijan, objectively it continues to retain the potential to influence the situation in the former Union republic.

Caucasus Confederation Views Abkhaz Conflict

PM2406124993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Shinkin report: "Food for Thought for Russian Politicians"]

[Text] The Confederation of Caucasian Peoples (CCP), which is exerting ever-increasing influence on the situation in this region, today concentrated all its attention on the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia. In a recent statement the CCP described it as a war in which Georgia's aim is to destroy the Abkhaz people and their statehood.

The CCP supported the peace initiatives of the leadership of the Russian Federation, the republics of the North Caucasus, and krays and oblasts in the south of Russia and, putting its faith in these initiatives, started to withdraw volunteer formations from Abkhazia even on a unilateral basis. However, the Russian-Georgian talks going on at present on ending the war in Abkhazia on the basis of the Georgian scenario, the statement says, essentially signify an attempt to divide the consanguineous peoples of the Caucasus into spheres of influence between the contracting parties. The Russian leadership's policy of playing up to and aiding and abetting Georgian aggression, the statement goes on to note, has already led to an expansion in the scale of the war in Abkhazia: It has turned from a local war into an all-Caucasian war, and threatens to become a large-scale war. In fact today, fighting on the side of Abkhazia, which has been subjected to aggression, are peoples not just from this republic, but also from the entire North Caucasus.

The Georgian leadership, with active support from certain ruling circles in the Russian Federation and certain Western countries, has virtually unleashed an all-Caucasian war in order to consolidate the division of the Caucasus implemented earlier and, if Russia's present difficulties allow, then also in order to amend in its own favor this division, which the geographic maps currently being published in Georgia show.

In this connection the CCP states that membership of the Russian Federation on the part of peoples and republics of the North Caucasus is justified so long as the Russian state protects their interests and acts as a guarantor of stability in the situation in the region. It also declares its firm resolve to adopt all necessary measures to liberate Abkhazia, occupied by Georgian troops, and protect the rights of the peoples of the North Caucasus and South Ossetia from encroachments by the aggressive policy carried out by Georgia's ruling circles.

Border Talks With PRC Held in Beijing 12-21 Jun

OW2506035493 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 23 Jun 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" program]

[Text] Beijing—Russian and Chinese experts held their first meeting here 12-21 June for the purpose of implementing the draft agreement on regulations governing the Russo-Chinese border. This took place within the framework of the general border normalization process and negotiations on border issues that has been conducted between the former Soviet Union and China since 1987. Both sides stated that they have a coincidence of views on most issues concerning border regulations. At the same time there are articles which demand collation, more precise definitions, and a coordination of common positions.

Order To Fire at Intruders on PRC Border Issued

MK2406094693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 2

[Unattributed report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Vladivostok"]

[Text] According to unconfirmed reports, Lieutenant General Nikolay Lutsenko, commander of the Far Eastern Border Troop District, has received an order from Moscow specifying "a new line of conduct" with regard to intruders over the Russian-Chinese border, which requires that the border guards act strictly in accordance with military rules. In effect, this allows the border guards to fire for effect at those who refuse to comply with orders of a border troop detail. This order by the Moscow command is evidently a response to a similar order by the Chinese border troop authorities issued after a Russian border troop detail killed a Chinese citizen who was illegally fishing in Russian territorial waters and made an armed attack on a Russian border guard.

Japan Donates Fuel to Kurils as Humanitarian Aid

OW2406131093 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 22 Jun 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" program]

[Text] Sources at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs advise that the Japanese Government has paid for the delivery of 2,000 tonnes of diesel fuel to Shikotan and Kunashir Islands, which are suffering an energy crisis. The amount paid, including the cost of transportation, is on the order of 44 million yen.

In April of this year, the Japanese Government, in response to appeals from the southern Kuril authorities, decided to supply the inhabitants of Kunashir, Iturup, and Shikotan with 1,500 tonnes of diesel fuel that is badly needed by the local electric power stations, as a form of urgent humanitarian aid.

At first, the plan was to buy this fuel in Japan and send it to the southern Kurils by Japanese tanker; however, as the aforementioned sources advised, the realization of this plan was delayed. As a result, it was decided to purchase Russian fuel using Japanese money, thereby somewhat increasing the quantity of fuel purchased, and to use Russian tankers. According to the Japanese Foreign Ministry sources, 1,000 tonnes were delivered to Shikotan on 18 June and the same amount was delivered to Kunashir on 20 June. News of this reached Tokyo today and the Japanese side made the payments.

Iturup did not require Japanese assistance since the Sakhalin Oblast authorities had delivered diesel fuel to this island earlier.

Hungary's Goncz Proposes Assembling Buses in Komi

LD2406054193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0447 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar June 24 TASS—President of Hungary Arpad Goncz brought several cooperation projects to the Russian northern republic of Komi which include the construction of an assembly shop for the Hungarian "Ikarus" buses, the use of new agricultural technologies and training of environmental experts.

Goncz who signed an agreement on cooperation in culture with the Komi Republic on Wednesday said Hungary and Komi can "to a certain extent supplement each other".

Speaking at a press conference he recalled that Komi was the first of Russian republics to conclude a trade agreement with Hungary thus ensuring barter exchange of goods. Goncz believes the agreement is a successful model of cooperation .

He expressed hope that his visit will boost cooperation of Hungary and Komi populated by kinsfolk.

Oboroneksport Signs Deal for Sale of MiG-29's to Hungary

LD2406224493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By correspondent A. Vozhzhov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Vozhzhov] Many state commercial structures wish to sell combat equipment and weaponry but not all of them manage to produce profit for the state. The Russian state foreign trade association Oboroneksport has concluded a contract with the Hungarian Republic for the sale of 28 MiG-29 fighter aircraft. Thanks to this act alone Russia has redeemed half of its Hungarian debt.

[S.Karaoglanov, chairman of the Oboroneksport Association] By supplying the MiG-29 we are opening up a flow of hard currency to the country—to our treasury. The supply of our military property is going toward redeeming Russia's debts to Hungary now amounting to more than $800 million dollars. That is to say, we are thereby tackling a problem affecting all our country.

[T. Sandor, deputy state secretary at Hungary's Defense Ministry] I am convinced that the decision we have adopted is of great use to the peoples of both countries.

[Vozhzhov] The military exhibitions at Le Bourget, Abu Dhabi, and Malaysia have not been in vain for Russia. Very shortly contracts will be concluded by Oboroneksport for the sale of technical equipment to the overall value of more than $1.5 billion.

Diplomat Previews Yeltsin Visit to Greece

LD2506090593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0834 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—"Relations between Russia and Greece are a priority", Pyotr Dobroserdov, deputy chief of the Third European Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, told ITAR-TASS today.

Commenting on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's forthcoming visit to Greece, the Russian diplomat noted that age-long historical ties exist between the two countries which account for the proximity of their cultures and their spiritual affinity—many Russians and Greeks share the common faith. The geographical proximity of the two countries is a serious factor.

"We have accumulated sufficient experience in cooperation which makes it possible to transfer to a qualitatively new dimension in our relations - relations of partnership", the diplomat said. "This is the main objective of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's forthcoming visit - the first ever visit by the head of Russian state to Greece".

In the course of the visit, a number of major documents are expected to be signed, which will largely define the guidelines for the development of relations between Russia and Greece in the future. Chief among them is the treaty of friendship and cooperation. In addition, a package of five to six intergovernmental agreements will be signed to regulate relations between the two countries in various fields.

As concerns international problems, the Russian diplomat said the talks would focus on problems related to the situation in the Balkans and the elimination of the Yugoslav crisis.

The Russian foreign minister's recent visit to Athens confirmed the considerable communality and even coincidence of the two countries' standpoints regarding the key problems of the world situation.

According to the Russian diplomat, Russia's recognition of Macedonia would not become a stumbling block at the forthcoming talks. "As a result of intensive contacts at different levels we have succeeded in reaching a common denominator in this respect lately", Dobroserdov added.

Responding to a question about contacts along the military line, Dobroserdov noted that "the Russian and Greek sides attach great importance to them, particularly in recent times".

"There are many reasons to hope that the Russian president's visit will mark a new stage in the development of cooperation between our countries," Pyotr Dobroserdov stressed in conclusion.

Khasbulatov, Turkish Ambassador View Black Sea Body

LD2406230893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1336 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jun—"We have a firm intention to work for serious and long-term cooperation with Turkey", said Russian Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, receiving Ayhan Kamel, Turkish ambassador to Russia, at the House of Soviets on 24 June.

The parliament's press service reports that the interlocutors' views coincided on the significance of the creation of a new international organization—the Parliamentary Assembly of the Countries of the Black Sea Economic Community (PABSEC), that had its first plenary meeting in Istanbul 16-18 June. According to the ambassador, Russia and Turkey should become the engine that will allow PABSEC to move forward.

At the request of A. Kamel, who pointed out Ankara's great interest toward the development of events in the Russian Federation and its interest toward the stability of this process, the sides discussed issues of bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

The chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet and the Turkish ambassador also exchanged views on the situation in the Transcaucasus and in the republics of the former Yugoslavia. A significant part in the conversation was occupied by the well-known events taking place in Azerbaijan of late. The interlocutors pointed at the necessity to maintain and support democratic principles in resolving any conflict situations.

Libyan Official Comments on Terrorism, Russian Ties

PM2506090193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 5

[RIA correspondent Ivan Menshikov report especially for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on interview with 'Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir, secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation; place and date not given: "Libya Has Broken With Terrorism, 'Umar Mustafa al-Muntasir, Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation, Claims"]

[Text] Tunis—'Umar al-Muntasir, secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation, or to put it more simply, foreign minister, is well known both in Western business circles and in the corridors of power in Moscow.

For many years he was oil minister, a crucial post for all those who had dealings with Libya. It was because of his reputation as a pragmatist and realist that he was summoned by the Libyan leadership to the post of foreign minister at a most difficult time in the country's history—after the imposition of international sanctions by the UN Security Council. He agreed to answer a series of questions with a frankness uncharacteristic of someone in his position.

Naturally the number one theme when it comes to Libya is that of the UN sanctions... Without hiding the serious difficulties caused by the international sanctions against his country and without dismissing all the charges against it, 'Umar al-Muntasir noted that the UN Security Council resolutions demand from Libya not so much large-scale cooperation in the investigation of the terrorist acts against planes belonging to the U.S. airline Pan Am and the French airline UTA as a renunciation of support for any movements and organizations suspected of terrorism. In this regard, according to the minister, quite a lot has been done already. In particular, relations have been broken off with all such organizations and movements, as well as the "big names" of international terrorism, such as the notorious Abu Nidal. Furthermore, in 'Umar al-Muntasir's words, the British special services have been given all the information that Libya possessed about the IRA.

"Wanting to demonstrate our goodwill," the Libyan minister went on, "we officially proposed that the UN secretary general send a commission of international observers for the on-site inspection of all facilities which,

according to Western information, could have housed terrorist training centers or camps." However, this proposal was not adopted because of U.S. opposition.

As for the problem of trying Libyan citizens suspected of involvement in the destruction of aircraft, Libya, according to its representative, favors a thorough and objective investigation of this case. "We are ready to hand them over to face justice in any neutral country, but not the United States, Britain, or France, even though Libyan laws ban the transfer of citizens for legal examination to countries with which we do not have the corresponding agreements," 'Umar al-Muntasir stated. In this regard Libya puts forward two mandatory conditions: If the suspects are found innocent they will be allowed to return home, but if found guilty they will be punished in the country where sentence is passed.

Meeting the U.S. demands halfway, the Libyan Government, in the words of 'Umar al-Muntasir, is ready to guarantee payment of compensation to the families which suffered as a result of the air disasters in the event that Libyan citizens are found guilty.

On relations with Russia, which, as is well known, voted for the imposition of sanctions against Libya, the head of the Libyan diplomatic service noted that, although the level of these relations has declined considerably in recent years, the sides continue to exchange messages and maintain contacts. "I have repeatedly suggested a meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and have said that I am prepared to visit Moscow for that purpose. Unfortunately, however, there has been no reply yet," 'Umar al-Muntasir said several times.

"All of this does not mean," he went on, "that the Russian side and we have not taken certain steps aimed at settling the crisis situation that exists." He announced that a month ago the Libyan side received via Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, secretary general of the Arab League, an interesting proposal from the Russian representative in the UN Security Council.

Returning to bilateral Russian-Libyan relations, 'Umar al-Muntasir stressed that they have long-standing traditions and great prospects, but that the "ball is in the Russian court." "There is much talk nowadays about the main problem, namely Libya's debt to the Soviet Union and consequently to Russia," the minister noted. "I see no special difficulty in resolving this problem. For this, Russia, as the legal successor to the USSR, should recognize its commitments under all the agreements which have recently been suspended." For the sake of objectivity, he recognized that a significant proportion of these agreements fall under UN Security Council Resolution 748 and stressed at the same time that Russia has good reason to make efforts to unblock the prevailing situation.

Speaking about the prospects for economic cooperation, 'Umar al-Muntasir noted that Libya has a significant number of large-scale projects which could be successfully carried out by Russian companies. "We have accumulated considerable experience in this sphere," he stressed; "you need only recall the major, multimillion-dollar civilian contracts in the oil and gas industry, engineering, and other areas, where work performed by Soviet organizations is in no way inferior to the West." He recalled in particular the grand scheme for the construction of a railroad along the entire Mediterranean seaboard from the Egyptian border to Tunisia which the Soviet Union once proposed. This project, according to the Libyan minister, remains on the agenda today, although the initiative here, in his opinion, should come from the Russian side. At the same time, 'Umar al-Muntasir rejected the report in a number of Western newspapers that this project, valued at $10 billion, will be given to U.S. companies as "compensation" for a softening of stance.

"We remember the Soviet specialists who worked in Libya," the Libyan foreign minister said in conclusion, "are grateful to them for everything that they created for our country, and hope to meet them again."

Armed Intervention No Way to 'Restore Hope' to Somalia

PM2406135593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy report: "Somalia: You Cannot Restore Ideals and Hope With Bayonets"]

[Text] Summing up the results of the latest action by UN forces and the U.S. troops who came to their aid in the Somali capital, U.S. President Clinton spoke of the heroism of the UN soldiers, who have "broken the back" of General Aidid's fighters. The President also spoke of his country's determination to continue taking the lead on a global scale, but he said nothing about the Somalis: not about the armed formations over which the latest "brilliant" military victory has been won, but about the millions of starving and sick, to save whom Operation Restore Hope—a humanitarian rather than military operation!—was ultimately launched.

Not only in Washington but also in many other capitals of states that responded to the U.S. call last December to provide effective strong-arm support for the UN mission in Somalia combat reports of losses, fatalities, and casualties on both sides have gradually and imperceptibly supplanted newspaper reports about food and medicine convoys and tonnes of freight being delivered to Somalia's provinces. Instead of news about ships carrying groats we frequently hear news about a U.S. Marine expeditionary battalion, urgently redeployed from the Persian Gulf zone, which has embarked on interminable maneuvers off the Somali coast.

All this automatically prompts the following questions: Is the means not becoming an end in itself? Is the pacification of rebel Somali political and military formations (and they are often one and the same on this

continent) not becoming the main task of the UN-mandated coalition of forces from the international community? Isn't a nobly conceived and well-presented humanitarian action turning into another act of neocolonialism? If that is nonetheless not the case, should you impose good, your own goodwill, and your own vision of an internal system on another people by force? That is ultimately the flip side of neocolonialism.

The operation conducted by U.S. and later UN armed forces too was mounted under the euphonious slogan "Restore Hope." However, it was evidently a question not only of the Somalis' hopes of salvation and survival amid catastrophic conditions for them, but also of restoring the ideas that motivated the founders of the United Nations—the ideals of the triumph of justice and good in this world, during the lifetime of the current generation, so to speak. It is becoming clear that real views of these correct, worthy concepts differ considerably if not for everyone, then at least for many people (why else are people in Somalia, Cambodia, and Iraq so doggedly resisting outside attempts to bring good and justice?). It is most likely a problem of differing standards. And there should be work to reduce them to a common denominator rather than build up the strength of coalition or even UN troop contingents in a particular country or region. After all, you can suppress resistance and conquer an enemy by force of arms. But you can hardly use weapons to defend and bring hope and ideals to other people.

Political Issues

Shumeyko Interviewed on Corruption Allegations

LD2506090693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1818 GMT 24 Jun 93

["Unscheduled interview" with First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko by German Solomatin in Shumeyko's office in Moscow—live or recorded]

[Text] [Solomatin] What gave rise to today's statement [on corruption and bribery allegations] in the Supreme Soviet?

[Shumeyko] Well, you know, Ruslan Imranovich not so long ago put forward the following thesis: Politics is a dirty business. Today, in my view, he proved that thesis brilliantly; that it is so dirty that it is horrible to look at. You see, regarding the accusations voiced today by the deputy procurator general at the Supreme Soviet, I would dwell on three points.

I would say the first one is this: Why am I not to the liking of the Khasbulatovs, Rutskoys, Korovnikovs, and those like them—the Ispravnikovs—all the president's current opposition? Why, in general, don't they like me as a politician? I am not to the liking of the president's current opposition as a politician precisely because from the very first day of my appearance in the Supreme Soviet I, first of all, championed the president's line on reform, and I respect Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin personally. I have not declared that anywhere to anyone. I have never said that but I have shown it by all my actions.

As soon as I arrived in the Supreme Soviet and busied myself with the economic, the so-called market legislation, I made the law on enterprise and entrepreneurial activity, on competition and restrictions on monopolies, on private property, on privatization, and so on. Even then I was not to the liking of the opposition precisely because I was working on those market laws.

As deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, at the Sixth Congress if you remember, I directly supported the Gaydar government and the president's line. After that, at the insistent demand of Khasbulatov, I had to leave the Supreme Soviet and switch to the government. I entered the government and, from the very first day, I continued the same line of the president's reforms. To this day, I defend it with all the vigor that I can muster.

I was there at the outset if I can put it that way. I was the initiator—one of the initiators—an active supporter of the president's famous Decree 721 on the flotation of enterprises. I then had to listen to the whole barrage of everything that was aimed at me.

The last point: Relations during the preparation of the nationwide referendum deteriorated markedly. My uncompromising position and—I will say it without false modesty—my simply unstinting work, especially after the declaration of the referendum results, gave rise to sheer fury. Who does he think he is?—and so on.

Now too I have been working actively in the constitutional commission. There was my recent speech at the plenary session on the principles of the structuring of a new constitution. I have become a completely unacceptable political figure to the opposition. That is quite understandable. A constitution is being born today at the 26th plenary sitting. The text of the new constitution of a completely new Russia will be born. It may be adopted. But that constitution completely puts an end to the power of the current deputies—I am not talking about all of them—to the power of that same Khasbulatov, Ispravnikov, and all those who stand alongside them. If the constitution is adopted they will disappear.

So, how could they feel about me? Of course that is the way they feel.

[Solomatin] I see.

[Shumeyko] A second question: Why is it that, personally, I am not to the liking of Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, Korovnikov, etc? I will show you a document I signed on 12 May. [proceeds to read from document] In accordance with the instruction of the president of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Security, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, jointly with the auditing directorate of the Office of the President and the organs of the Procuracy, and enlisting the services of other ministries and departments, the facts are to be verified of the violations in the financial and economic activities of the Vozrozhdeniye [Rebirth] Social Development Fund, cited in the questions by a number of people's deputies of the Russian Federation.

We have already talked an awful lot about this Rebirth Fund. Well, this document is perfectly in order. We are subject to inspections. I have always... [pauses] Makarov came to see me, and I put everything I had on the table for Makarov to see, with all copies—they were recorded on the tape-recorder, perfectly openly. This person came to me and said: I have been instructed to carry out an inspection. I told him frankly and sincerely what happened, where, how, and why. This is a normal thing. It is necessary to inspect this Rebirth because it is a colossal, powerful organization that extends throughout the whole of Russia. There are lots of deputies' questions and other information that certain people or those connected with them share the profit of this organization. A very stormy reaction started behind the scenes after I signed. I was given to read all kinds of records, tapes with the conversations of certain people to listen to—their voices are very easy to recognize—where the aim is openly to destroy Shumeyko in the next few days, to destroy not physically—thank God, for the time being—but to destroy as a political figure, to find any excuse as long as he can be gotten rid of.

[Solomatin] Seriously?

[Shumeyko] Absolutely seriously.

[Solomatin] You are now stating that you heard voices who said that Shumeyko had to be destroyed as soon...

[Shumeyko, interrupting] More than that, they said: Will be destroyed within the next 10 days—even though over a month has gone by since that time. For me it is [words indistinct, both Shumeyko, Solomatin speak at once]

I have been shown a huge number of documents that are made... [pauses] If you make a copy on a modern photocopier, you can make a copy of a document where the signature is underneath whatever you like. It is like, as children say, looking at the moon, just in a different way. [sentence as heard] But that is not what I am talking about. Investigating the Rebirth Fund certainly did cause a commotion, to do with this affair and so on. I had to write to Ruslan Imranovich. I wrote to him, to Khasbulatov: Esteemed Ruslan Imranovich, in accordance with the instruction by the president of the Russian Federation dated 19 April and the instruction by the Soviet of Ministers of such-and-such a date, checks are being made. Repeated requests to the leadership of the Rebirth Fund, in particular to Korovnikov, the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet committee for affairs of invalids and war and labor veterans and social support for servicemen and members of their families, president of the aforementioned fund, that the financial and economic documents of the fund be presented, have had no results. I ask that you cooperate in having the fund for Rebirth and Social Development present the necessary documentation. There was no answer at all to this letter. Today we received the answer to this letter: Shumeyko himself is corrupt and he has to be relieved immediately. That is the second reason why it is personal.

The third point in my opinion is the most important one, the most important point that I have yet mentioned. Specifically, the successful work of the Constitutional Conference. I was not able to listen to very much of the radio broadcast of the recording, but people's deputies were speaking there after the report by the deputy procurator general. Every, almost every, almost 90 percent of the speeches ended with what? Ending the work of the Constitutional Conference immediately. If corrupt people like this are working there it has to be shut down. Ispravnikov proposed that the constitution be made with clean hands. Until the president releases those who stand by him, we have to call all the people's deputies out of there, we have to disrupt that work by any means, anything so that the constitution does not come out of it.

Following that, you see the real state of affairs. While we people's deputies, while we personally are sitting here, law and order will be observed here in the country; as soon as the new constitution is not adopted, then all Russia gets pillaged and everything that follows.

The last thing I would like to say, well, I shall probably have to sue, because if we are building a legally based state and saying that law and order should be observed here, then everything must be decided by the courts. Here I have a draft of today's decision. I was brought it from the Supreme Soviet. Can you see? The draft is proposed by a special commission of the Russian Procuracy. Only Khasbulatov's stamp is on it. And the second point alone has been adopted—expressing no confidence in First Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of Ministers Shumeyko and FIC [Federal Information Center] Chairman Poltoranin and proposing to the president of the Russian Federation that he immediately remove them from their posts in connection with the initiation of criminal proceedings for corruption. This is what the procurator is saying. We have been through all this already. With Gdlyan, with Ivanov, when they were taking all the heat. But even if criminal proceedings have been initiated—which I have not seen today, I heard it—investigations have to be carried out, investigations have to pass the affair on to the court, and when the court decides that Shumeyko really has caused damage by his actions, well, come on boys, I will calmly take a pistol and shoot myself, as they say, if that is really the case, but if this is not so...

[Solomatin, interrupting] Then what?

[Shumeyko] It is a pity that we do not have...

[Solomatin, interrupting] Duels?

[Shumeyko] It is a pity that we have abolished duels. I shall not waver, as they say. I am a calm person. I watch these guys on television and see how drawn their faces are and how gloomy they look. Only people with a guilty conscience, people having pangs of conscience, look like that. I, you see, when I...

[Solomatin, interrupting] And whom will you take to court?

[Shumeyko] When Makarov came to see me I told him very frankly: You see on this Waldheim Electronic [a German company] a set of documents that shows that I am absolutely right, and I say that I intend to take Rutskoy to court. I am indeed getting ready because, well, taking people to court is a lengthy matter. I have to talks things over with my lawyer. I have to check all the facts; I need to write a correct statement. I just cannot do all those things at once. After all, Rutskoy insulted me in front of everyone. This tape was broadcast, just like today's session will be relayed, wherever and as many times as they like. Thank God, today I am known all over the world, and on the whole, as a prominent politician. As they say, of late...

[Solomatin, interrupting] The more so since Boris Nikolayevich said that the next president must be tall.

[Shumeyko, laughing] That is not the point. The point is that in Kraysnodar I have my father, my sister, my family, children, etc.; my acquaintances who are listening to, seeing, etc.; all of this. They may suffer a great deal of mental anguish from the fact that people begin telling them something. This—I don't know—is inexhaustible suffering that has been inflicted in connection

with this case. I know this, you understand. I feel that I am right, and I am absolutely calm. I know what I am letting myself in for, doing what I am doing. As they say: In for a penny, in for a pound. There is nothing else to do here.

[Solomatin] Yes, one must make a choice.

[Shumeyko] Or, as the Italians say: If you want to ride a bicycle, you have to be prepared to pedal. Whereas Ruslan Imranovich says that politics is a dirty business, I am trying to clean it up.

[Solomatin] But Vadim Filippovich, where there is smoke there is fire.

[Shumeyko] Having become deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, especially when I was appointed head of the operations group that followed the progress of the economic reforms, I slipped into making operational decisions. I did not, naturally, have the right to make operational decisions. From the legal point of view, even if I wrote a letter—and the form of work of the deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet was that I could sign a letter, but one without instructions or directions—this is neither managing nor executive authority. Nevertheless, I slipped, I caught myself slipping into making decisions on operational issues.

[Solomatin] Does your post give you the right to make such decisions?

[Shumeyko] My post does not allow me to make such decisions on figures. I have the right to give commissions.

[Solomatin] What if, for example, those people say in court or during investigations that they bribed you? How they did it is a different matter.

[Shumeyko] Yes, how is a different matter. Bribes are a serious crime. What can I tell you? I have already heard so many such proposals here at work...

[Solomatin, interrupting] How does it work?

[Shumeyko] It works in different ways. Once this bright fellow came along—I will not name him, everybody knows him, and he said: Vadim Filippovich, we have been watching you. We really like you, you are a rising star of a politician, can we support you? We are thinking about Russia, its development, and so on. But I, thank God, have been here for some time, and I said: What do you have there with you? And he says: Well, nothing. It is just a document that needs signing. I look at the document, read it carefully, and say: That is an interesting document. If I sign it, how much money will you personally receive? And he says: Not much, about $25 million. And I say: Not bad. And he says: But how much will Russia receive, thousands of millions from this. And he also says: Vadim Filippovich, I understand everything. We will not talk about bribes here. I have got a friend there, [repeats] a friend there. He is a people's deputy, we go to the islands on vacation together, and we helped him in a commercial organization. We can help you as well. And I say: My dear friend, when I leave state service I am intelligent enough to work in any business without your help, without anything.

[Solomatin] Vadim Filippovich, excuse me, but why didn't you press a button and immediately call in security?

[Shumeyko] I acted somewhat differently in this event. There was a very interesting moment. I said: Leave this document, and I will work on it. We worked on it. I called [Security Minister] Barannikov, we changed it, and I signed it. Viktor Pavlovich discovered everyone who was behind this document, there were links right up to the National Salvation Front, and so on. All these links were discovered, they ended with this man, and so on.

[Solomatin] But you cannot forgive baseness. You claim that there is nothing behind this, yet this is an insult, an accusation...

[Shumeyko, interrupting] We are going to go to the courts with the Procurator. What else can I do? It is simply not possible to let it go like that. You understand, you simply have to react to these things. I understand where all this is coming from. I understand why it is being done. I understand that a completely decisive moment has arrived—to pull down and destroy this Constitutional Conference, not let it finish its work, remove the people the president relies on for support, weaken him in every way, and drag out the time before the president's opponents must leave the political arena. This is all comprehensible. But even comprehending this, I simply cannot forgive this baseness, these accusations in front of the whole world. That is not my nature. I am a calm person, but tough.

TV Interviews Shumeyko

LD2406184393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko by correspondent Vadim Budnikov on 24 June in an unidentified office; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Budnikov] What is your attitude to today's decision of the Supreme Soviet that expresses its no-confidence in you and recommends to the president to relieve you from your post in connection with your being accused of involvement in corruption?

[Shumeyko] I treat this decision as a big political provocation. The court has not yet said anything on the matter, and they are already declaring to the whole country and to the whole world that I am a corrupt official. Well, I shall have to sue Makarov [the official who made the accusation]. I have papers ready to take Rutskoy to court—I am going to sue him soon for insulting me at the session of the parliament. The same

with Makarov, because I am not going to let this pass just like that and to swallow, so to speak, all they are saying—with political purposes in mind, with the purpose to destroy exactly this Constitutional Conference.

It will be better, of course, if the whole Supreme Soviet resigned in a body today—it will make things so much easier for the country. It will be easier to work and we will be able to do a lot.

Shumeyko To Sue Rutskoy, Makarov

LD2506130893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow, 25 June—Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, has today confirmed his intention to sue Russian Deputy Procurator General Nikolay Makarov and Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy.

Speaking today to participants of the international congress "Small and Medium Business in Russia," he called allegations made against him at yesterday's meeting of the Supreme Soviet "absolutely unfounded." In his words, this is a "political provocation" aimed at disrupting the work of the Constitutional Conference.

Talking about his going to court, he stated that his petition against Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy is ready and will be submitted in the next few days. Regarding the petition against Nikolay Makarov, Shumeyko said that it will be drawn up after a close study of all the circumstances and the charges made in Makarov's allegations.

Poltoranin Interviewed on Accusations

LD2506121893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] In an interview for a POSTFACTUM correspondent, Mikhail Poltoranin had this to say on the accusations levelled against him at yesterday's Supreme Soviet session: In the first place, I would like to say that the essence of the issue raised at the session is to continue the dirty political game, because the Constitutional Conference will lead to unification and consensus, and it is knocking the last crutches from under the revanchists and extremists. This dubious issue, calculated to stir up passions, is being dragged into the session prior to the final, plenary session. It is not a legal, but a purely political issue.

I think, continued Mikhail Poltoranin, that the leadership of the Russian Procuracy, dragged into this senseless fight, fails to realize that time will put everything in its place. The house in Berlin that was mentioned has been transferred to Russia's jurisdiction and is owned by Russia. This is confirmed by numerous documents, said Poltoranin. The plan was to site 10 correspondents' posts there, with modern equipment. Representatives of pro-communist structures are currently benefiting from this house and it is precisely these facts that need to be investigated. This is something Mikhail Poltoranin asked the law and order bodies to undertake. Further, Mikhail Poltoranin noted that he had information from the Supreme Soviet that the Russian parliament has decided to adopt a method of compromising the presidential team and fuelling internal disputes within it. Judging by everything, these methods are beginning to be implemented in practice. These were excerpts from Mikhail Poltoranin's interview to a Postfaktum agency correspondent.

Said 'Absolutely Groundless'

LD2406200693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Jun 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] ITAR-TASS has reported that Vladimir Volodin, the first deputy head of the Federal Information Center, called today's statement by Makarov, a deputy procurator general, that Mikhail Poltoranin has abused his official position, as being absolutely groundless. The whole incident has a purely political character. After the Constitutional Conference began to work in a stable way and concord began to emerge in society, the Supreme Soviet, which is losing initiative, immediately needed new scandals.

Yeltsin Edict, Activities, CIS Meeting Noted

PM2406135393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch: Monitoring"]

[Excerpts] **Document**

In order to create favorable conditions in the Russian Federation for preserving leading world-class scientific schools and developing the country's scientific potential in the sphere of basic and applied research and training of highly skilled scientific cadres, Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin has promulgated the edict "On Russian Federation State Scientific Centers." The document establishes that the conferment of the status of Russian Federation state scientific center on a specific scientific enterprise, institution, or organization, or also a higher educational institution, does not alter the form of ownership and the organizational-legal form, but places the center in a category of installations qualifying for particular forms of state support.

Meetings

Russian President Boris Yeltsin met 22 June with Vladimir Korelskiy, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for Fishing. According to a report by the committee's press service, during the course of their

discussion V. Korelskiy directed the president's attention to the problem of unregulated foreign fishing in the Sea of Okhotsk, the preservation of varieties of sturgeon in the Caspian Sea, and the need to categorize these types of fish as federal property. [passage omitted]

Sessions

At its latest session in Rostov-na-Donu the Intergovernmental Council on Questions Concerning the Agro-Industrial Complexes of CIS Member States, Azerbaijan, and Georgia is examining issues relating to cooperation between these states in the sphere of manufacturing hardware and equipment for the agro-industrial sector. INTERFAX has learned that the council members reached preliminary agreement before the meeting in Rostov-na-Donu on founding several joint ventures to manufacture agricultural hardware, and also to establish a permanent organ to implement coordination in this sphere. The session participants also intend to discuss the implementation of intergovernmental trade and economic agreements on mutual deliveries of agro-industrial complex products and material and technical resources, and also to formulate a mechanism for mutual liability in the event of these deliveries being disrupted. [passage omitted]

Poltoranin Interviewed on 'Post-Referendum Steps'

PM2406114693 Milan PANORAMA in Italian 20 Jun 93 p 110

[Interview with Mikhail Poltoranin, chairman of the Federal Information Center, by Francesco Bigazzi; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Bigazzi] After the 25 April referendum, the opposition stated that if the fourth estate [the press] had not conducted an intense propaganda campaign in Yeltsin's favor, the outcome of the vote would have been different.

[Poltoranin] Those who attribute the president's success exclusively to the activities of the Federal Information Center [FIC] do not understand the complexity of this country's political reality, but continue to view the Russian people as a sort of soft wax which can be molded to whatever shape one wants. It is clear, however, that the mass media played an important role. Not only the FIC but all the democratic newspapers: We have succeeded in demonstrating what the "fourth estate" is and what its powers are.

[Bigazzi] What are the concrete post-referendum steps to be?

[Poltoranin] The people expressed themselves unequivocally in support of reform. The Supreme Soviet, led by Ruslan Khasbulatov, was against reform and so it should resign en bloc. What is happening, instead, is that the Soviet is producing a constitutional plan reeking of mothballs. Yet what is at stake is the future of Russia, which the president and his staff see as a strong, united state based on presidential power. Khasbulatov and his comrades have a different concept: In their view, Russia must be a jellylike, amorphous state with no central power, but with enormous power in the hands of peripheral authorities and the consequent creation of dozens of ministates full of nuclear arms and political ambitions.

[Bigazzi] Is Yeltsin not wasting his referendum victory the way he wasted his August 1991 victory?

[Poltoranin] The president today has the right to dissolve the Constitutional Court, to remove Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov (appointed by the Congress of Deputies), the Central Bank director, and a number of other top people, and to replace them temporarily with people he trusts until the mechanism for approving the new constitution has been worked out.

[Bigazzi] How long will it take to set up the constitutional mechanism?

[Poltoranin] I would say three or four months. As soon as the constitutional assembly has been formed, it can approve the law on electing a bicameral parliament and set the date.

[Bigazzi] Do you not think that the president's followers are far from united?

[Poltoranin] We are betrayed by the left and the right. Nor could it be otherwise in a society which inculcates cynicism and conformism into its citizens from childhood. But in Yeltsin's circle there is a tight group of people with firm principles, who have been on his side since 1987.

[Bigazzi] Are you tied to Yeltsin also through friendship?

[Poltoranin] We have never been big buddies. One day Yeltsin asked me: Why do you never invite me to your home? I answered: So as not to be misunderstood and not to be accused of being a lackey.

[Bigazzi] Mikhail Gorbachev often speaks out in public on Yeltsin's policies.

[Poltoranin] I think Gorbachev's stances are dictated not by an unreal vision of things but by an uncontrollable nostalgia for power. He feels like a chain-smoker who has run out of tobacco.

Antifascist Congress Urges Unity of Progressive Forces

PM2406152993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Viktor Kozhemyako and Boris Slavin report: "Threat of Fascism Real. Let's Stop It!"]

[Text] The All-Union Congress of Antifascist Forces was held yesterday at the parliamentary center in Moscow. It brought together representatives of political parties and social movements, workers, scientists, writers, and everyone concerned by this problem.

For a long time Russia has found itself threatened with the introduction of a state of emergency. Russians in the Baltic republics, Moldova, western Ukraine, and other places have found themselves in the position of second-class citizens, they are being humiliated, and at the same time ideas of national exclusivity are being extolled. O. Shenin, leader of the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU, who opened the congress, spoke of this.

The speakers noted: As the most reactionary terrorist form of the manifestation of the rule of the bourgeoisie, fascism seeks support from the small storekeepers and speculators who have truly multiplied in our country today.

A. Yezerskiy, leader of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee, read out an appeal for the establishment of a Union of Soviet War and Labor Veterans. PRAVDA's chief editor, G. Seleznev, proposed a national policy of uniting all progressive forces to counter the policy of destruction of the Union and of Russia which began with the Belovezhskiy plot. Many speakers spoke sorrowfully of the attitude toward veterans of the Great Patriotic War. Humiliated, plunged into poverty by the new Russian authorities, they are also insulted by the "red-brown" label.

Army General V. Varennikov stated from the congress rostrum: We will not forget the reprisal against the peaceful demonstrations of 23 February, 22 June, and 1 May! Furthermore, the forces of dictatorship are becoming more insolent and are operating more brazenly. We must counter them with an active, united force of resistance, the congress said. The proposal to create an All-Union Committee of Antifascist Forces met with unanimous support.

Some people find it convenient to equate socialism and fascism, the speakers noted. But Soviet people are perfectly well aware, from their own experience, of the striking contrast and enormous difference between them. We had real friendship between peoples. But now many former USSR republics have been enveloped by the consuming flame of fratricidal wars.

The words of the ardent Czechoslovak communist Julius Fucik were recalled at the congress: "People, I loved you. Be vigilant!" Only our universal vigilance can stop fascism wherever it may raise its head.

Lack of Legal Regulation Blamed for Ostankino-RTV Spat

PM2406132793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 2

[Tatyana Akkuratova report: "'Ostankino': 'We Stuck to the Law in Our Dispute With "RTV-Press" '"]

[Text] ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI has already reported on the dispute between the "RTV-Press" joint-stock company led by Yegor Yakovlev and the "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Company. Moscow journalists supported the "RTV-Press" collective. Nevertheless, in preparing this piece we attempted to find out the opinion of Vyacheslav Bragin, chairman of the Russian State Television and Radio Company. However, all day long in his reception room we received the dry reply: "A statement is being prepared..." It was only 22 June that a press conference of "Ostankino's" leaders was held.

It voiced resentment at the mass media's bias. In the opinion of the company's leadership, the company acted quite legally since decisions made by courts of arbitration on disputes concerning administration are to be carried out immediately. "Ostankino" took action four days after the "RTV-Press" constituent documents were deemed to be invalid. There was also, they claim, no seizure of the building: All (!) that the outside security service asked of people entering the building was that they show "Ostankino" passes, not "RTV-Press" passes.

"Ostankino" may very well be in the right in the property dispute. But how can you say it was legal to seize the building when the "Ostankino" security service exceeded its official powers? It is not for nothing that the Moscow prosecutor demanded that the "Ostankino" leadership stop acting illegally toward "RTV-Press" and warned that in the event of non-compliance, administrative and criminal proceedings will be instigated against those violating the law.

It is clear that so long as problems of privatizing editorial buildings, selling off shares in publishing houses, and allocating subsidies are not settled through legislation but continue to be resolved as "exceptional cases" on the basis of relations with a particular leader, such squalid disputes will be inevitable.

Constitution Issues

Tatarstan Withdraws From Constitutional Conference

LD2406193793 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Some difficulties have arisen during the Constitutional Conference underway in Moscow to finalize the draft constitution. The participants are Getting acquainted with the final text of the draft in sections. The leaders of Tatarstan took a decision to recall their republic's representatives. The statement of the republic's president and the head of parliament says that the Constitutional Conference has ignored the initiative of Tatarstan to put down in the draft constitution that Tatarstan's relations with the Russian Federation are based on agreements.

Tatars Dissatisfied With Conference

MK2506091093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jun 93 p 1

[Radik Batyrshin report under the "Constitution" rubric: "Tatarstan Leaders Leave Constitutional Conference. Kazan, Ufa Unhappy With Yeltsin's Draft"]

[Text] Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev and Supreme Soviet Chairman Farid Mukhametshin issued a joint statement in Kazan yesterday. The statement expresses their concern over the first stage of the Constitutional Conference and its bodies. "Taking an active part in the deliberations on the Russian Federation Constitution, we expected that the new Fundamental Law would reflect, and give legal status to, the irreversible political changes that have taken place in the republic over the past few years," the statement says. In the Tatarstan leaders' view, the Russian Federation leadership, "having pioneered a reform of historically obsolete principles of the country's state and legal arrangements, ushered in profound democratic transformations in all republics and regions." They pointed out that the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the RSFSR enshrined "its unbending commitment to the universally recognized principles of international law with regard to the protection of, and respect for, the best interests of peoples." According to the Tatarstan president and the Supreme Soviet chairman, the sovereignty proclaimed by the Russian Federation has become "a guarantee that each people can exercise its right to self-determination in the national and state forms they may choose." But the draft Russian Federation Fundamental Law, drawn up at the first stage of the Constitutional Conference, "evidently strives to belittle and revise the very idea of forging a qualitatively new type of federal relations," the statement emphasizes. "The legislative initiative by the Republic of Tatarstan, which calls for a new vision of federalism in Russia and for making the treaty-based and constitutional relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan part of its Fundamental Law, has been ignored," the Tatarstan leaders say, emphasizing that "the republics' interests cannot but be heeded." This, in their view, gives rise to doubts as to the commitment of the draft's authors to "the ideas of a new statehood and reforming the Russian Federation on genuinely democratic principles." The Tatarstan president and the Supreme Soviet chairman believe that "there is no making political decisions from a position of yesterday, decisions that run counter to the interests of a multiethnic people."

Given these circumstances, Mintimer Shaymiyev and Farid Mukhametshin think it impossible for them to continue to participate in the deliberations of the Constitutional Conference and its bodies. They expressed their confidence that political wisdom in resolving the momentous issues would finally prevail and reaffirmed their commitment to develop relations with the Russian Federation on the basis of a treaty on the mutual delegation of powers.

Meanwhile, in Ufa, Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet Chairman Murtaza Rakhimov, when asked by your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent to comment on a statement by Vyacheslav Novikov, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet, said: "This is an opinion by just one kray soviet chief, and not by all the territories." Novikov called the status of republics as sovereign states (set forth in the Federation Treaty and the current Constitution) "a bomb under Russia's future." In Rakhimov's view, the majority of kray and oblast soviets do not strive to review the Federation Treaty. "The desire to put the republics' interests in opposition to those of krays and oblasts is artificial," the Bashkortostan leader said. But he, for his part, believed that "a Russian sovereign state cannot be created in each kray or oblast."

Speaking about the work done by the Constitutional Conference, Murtaza Rakhimov complained that the Conference "was in effect ignoring the Federation Treaty." "If this ends up being stipulated in the Fundamental Law, this Constitution will not be accepted by the republics," he said. "I would not like to believe that this is Boris Yeltsin's line, otherwise it will turn out that he was leading us by the nose for 18 months." In Rakhimov's view, all this undermines confidence in the Constitutional Conference: "What we need is to agree on each article of the draft, and not to ram them through via the artificial majority created by the president's apparatus, made up of party and public movement leaders." "The majority of these dwarfish parties operate in Moscow and St. Petersburg alone, whereas we are creating a new constitution not for them, but for all of Russia," the Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet leader remarked. "Under the circumstances, I cannot affix my signature to any draft of the constitution."

On 23 June, the Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet passed a decree putting forward two conditions for the adoption of a new Russian Federation Constitution. First, they requested that a law on the implementation of the Federation Treaty be passed; second, that a treaty on the fundamentals of interstate relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Bashkortostan be concluded.

In a separate development, a meeting of chairmen of Russia's kray and oblast soviets will be held in Moscow today on the initiative of Vyacheslav Novikov.

Tatar Speaker Sets Conditions

LD2506112293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] The Tatarstan leadership's statement about recalling its representatives from the constitutional conference may not be put into effect if the republic's proposals on the forming of treaty relations with federal bodies are taken into account by those drawing up the

draft basic law of the Russian Federation, Farid Mukhametshin, the speaker of Tatarstan's parliament, has declared.

The further way in which events should develop is, in his view, through the continuation of work on a treaty on the mutual delegation of powers between Kazan and Moscow. Work on the draft treaty is already coming to an end. Within its framework, seven of the intended 12 intergovernmental agreements have been signed. The main points of controversy have been removed.

No 'Official' Statement Received

LD2506135093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Sergey Filatov, the president's chief of staff, has not yet, according to him, received any official statement from the president of Tatarstan on the recall of the republic's delegation from the constitutional conference. In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, he noted that he sees no reason for any concern over Tatarstan's so-called special position in the constitutional process.

Kray, Oblast Heads Oppose Republics' Sovereignty

PM2406121793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Aleksey Tarasov report: "'Bomb Under Russia's Future.' Definition of Republics as Sovereign States Which Are Part of Russian Federation Is Unacceptable, Kray and Oblast Leaders Believe"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—On 25 June, the day before a plenary session of the Constitutional Conference, heads of Russian kray and oblast soviets will get together in the Moscow Oblast Soviet. Telegrams inviting them to this conference were sent out by Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet Chairman Vyacheslav Novikov, who heads the association of leaders of representative authority in Russian krays and oblasts.

The purpose of this get-together, to which governors will probably also be invited, is to discuss key problems concerning the constitutional process and Russia's future as a whole—its state structure. The conference must also formulate a united position on this question for krays and oblasts.

It is known that kray and oblast leaders do not support the definition of republics as "sovereign states which are part of the Russian Federation" which was proposed at the Constitutional Conference. Novikov regarded this term as a "bomb under Russia's future:"

"I believe that we must not agree with this norm in any circumstances," he said, "because it is the way to the constitutional redivision of material and financial resources in favor of republics. After all, if republics obtain sovereign state status they will become owners of land, natural resources, etc. and no federative acts will have any significance for the republics any more. But will it be possible to regard the republics as subjects of international law? Undoubtedly. With the adoption of this term the Federation will essentially be transformed into a confederation." The head of representative authority in Krasnoyarsk Kray and coordinator of Russian kray and oblast soviet chairmen's joint actions said that he is an opponent of a confederative structure for Russia, but if the republics' position still does not change, in his opinion all the other Federation components must also become "sovereign states which are part of Russia."

Kray and oblast representatives met with republic leaders several times during the Constitutional Conference. In principle they agreed—true, not with all of them—on three important questions: Republics do not have the right to secede from Russia; the rights already given to territories must not be taken away; and krays and oblasts must have the same rights as republics, with the exception of the attributes of statehood. Novikov believes that the wording adopted at the Constitutional Conference by the group of Federation components—"Russian Federation components are equal among themselves in their mutual relations with federal organs of authority"—is incomprehensible and opens up the possibility of various interpretations, and he suggests that the agreement reached on the three points with some republic leaders will make it possible to elaborate a norm that is more acceptable for inclusion in the draft constitution.

But if a compromise is not found and if the ex-autonomous entities become "sovereign states" with all that entails, why, Novikov remarked, should a Yenisey Republic with a title nation of Yenisey people not appear within Krasnoyarsk Kray or why should an East Siberia Republic with a title nation of East Siberians not appear within Irkutsk Oblast and the Krasnoyarsk area?

Regional Views of Conference Solicited

PM2406153793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Untitled "express interviews" with Stavropol Kray Soviet Chairman Yuriy Goncharenko and Rostov Oblast Soviet Chairman Aleksandr Popov by Ye. Skukin under "Direct Line" rubric; place and date not given]

[Text] We introduce a rubric under which we will publish on a day-to-day basis the opinion of leaders of regional-level soviets and administrations on topical issues of local, regional, and all-Russian politics.

Life itself dictates the need for such a "direct line." Russia's oblasts, krays, and republics do not want to be simple executors of the will of the center, and they actively intervene in Russian politics and want to be its real subjects.

We invite chairmen of soviets at all levels not to wait for a call from us but to share with the newspaper their thoughts on these important issues. The contact telephone numbers of the "Soviets and Executive" department are 257-27-20 and 257-29-98.

The Draft Inspires Hope, But...

Stavropol Kray Soviet Chairman Yuriy Goncharenko:

Quite honestly, before the start of the Constitutional Conference I did not have any illusions about its ability to adopt something constructive. Fortunately I was mistaken. The version of the new Fundamental Law submitted for examination strikes me as a healthy compromise among the various branches of power.

It is hard to forecast the order of the Constitutional Conference's work after 26 June. Who knows whether quite a different draft will be submitted to its participants then? Nor are there any guarantees that the executive will not want to make use of some unconstitutional means of adopting the new constitution.

On the other hand, it is hardly possible, for example, with the best will in the world, to hold elections to the new parliament as early as this fall.

My version of the mechanism for adopting the new constitution is as follows. After the draft has been initialed, with suggestions from the provinces definitely having been taken into account, it is passed to an organ specially created by the Supreme Soviet and the president or to the Congress. Incidentally, I do not see the very process of initialing as being as long as some people believe. For chief attention will be devoted to the three main articles: on local self-management, the federative structure, and the functions of the representative organs of federative power and the president.

Without Political Capers

Rostov Oblast Soviet Chairman Aleksandr Popov:

My attitude toward the Constitutional Conference is ambivalent. Like any initiative in legislative creativity, it is undoubtedly useful. But, unfortunately, some people would like to use the conference for political ends. It is also impossible to agree that the Constitutional Conference could supposedly be a prototype of a parliament. It is merely preparing the text of the constitution from two versions. No more than that.

Subsequently, after examination by the components of the Federation and the Supreme Soviet, the draft must without fail be submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies. If it exists, we do not have the right to bypass it.

The situation with which opponents of the representative power intimidate people (the Congress, they say, will be certain to block the new constitution) will not happen if the Supreme Soviet works well on the eve of it.

The Supreme Soviet now seems to be in a state of confusion. It must urgently examine a block of laws on representative power, so that the president does not then accuse the legislators of holding things up.

I agree with the statement by 48 components of the Federation: There must be parity in the Constitutional Commission. In general, it must be remembered that the constitution's fate is being decided not in Moscow but in the territories. Remember, at first the president's position with regard to the soviets was absolutely unlawful. But subsequently, under the influence of representatives of the regions, Boris Nikolayevich declared that he was expressing his own personal viewpoint. Both branches of power must be mutually restrained. We held a session of the oblast soviet in Rostov 8 June. We adopted a considered decision leading to a rapprochement of decisions. We long ago realized that political capers lead to no good. The political situation must always be superimposed on the economic situation.

Shakhray Interviewed on New Constitution

LD2406172093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 24 June carries a 40-minute "Close Up" program in which commentator German Solomatin conducts a recorded studio discussion on a new constitution for the Russian Federation. Those taking part are: Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation government; Sergey Borisovich Stankevich, adviser on political matters to the Russian Federation president; and Anatoliy Stepanovich Tyazhelov, head of the administration of Moscow Oblast.

After introductory remarks on the subject by Solomatin, Shakhray says: "At the Constitutional Conference, two tendencies were quite clearly delineated. One was hardline unitarianism—to unify everything, centralize, declare everything lands and provinces, to build everything, as they say, to a single specification. And the second position is the hardline demand for already confederative principles—in other words, the even greater withdrawal, let's say, of a number of republics from the all-Russian state. These two tendencies came together and clashed very clearly in our group, the group of representatives of the components of the Russian Federation. Nevertheless, in my view, we put together a very important reconciliation mechanism. For that reason alone, it can be said that the Constitutional Conference justified itself, since, for the first time, what took place was not a television dialogue, but a dialogue around a single table between the republics, the krays and oblasts. We are all in one state. Our rights must be equal. Citizens of the Russian Federation must be equally protected, wherever they may be. We began with that minimum. What do the krays and oblasts need so that their equality with the republics is enshrined? Citizenship is needed. A constitution is needed. One's own system of supreme state organs of power and so on is

needed. No, they say. That is not needed. The compromise formula was then found.

"Moreover, it must be clearly understood that there is a point in the process in which we now find ourselves. The fact is that the declaration, the Constitution, the Federation Treaty and the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation have stated that a republic is a sovereign state. Given this statement, who can remove it in Moscow? No one can. Only the actual republics can ever alter it.

"But then how is the unity of the Russian state to be ensured? We also found these formulas. The sovereignty of the Russian Federation extends to the whole of its territory as an integral indivisible state. In other words, there is the principle of the indivisibility of the state. There is no right to leave, no right to secession. Next, federal law has primacy throughout the Russian Federation. Next, there is the institution of single citizenship. In other words, a citizen of any republic is a citizen of the Russian Federation, and here there will be no statute saying that there are foreigners, stateless persons, and so on within the Russian Federation.

"Fourth, we made it clear that the list of human rights and freedoms that are enshrined in the Russian Constitution is a standard lower than which no component of the Russian Federation may sink. Improve the situation by all means, but do not make it worse."

Asked how the situation could be improved, Shakhray replies: "Well, if a republic, kray or oblast has internal resources, if they can raise the population's prosperity and can use a mechanism, since they have the right to adopt their own normative enactments, their own laws, to improve the human lot, why not? So long as it is not made worse.

"And the last factor: In the fundamentals of the constitutional system we recorded that, on the territory of the Russian Federation, freedom of movement for property, finance and services is ensured, customs inspections are forbidden, and the inviolability of property is established, as well as the equality of all forms of property—in other words, a common, single economic space. I think that's the main tenet."

Solomatin then raises the question of Chechnya. Shakhray responds: "What is to be done with the Chechen Republic? What is to be done about the status of Tatarstan? I think the most important thing is not to try to resolve the problem in one minute by a vote in Moscow. From the legal standpoint, the standpoint of international law, the Chechen Republic is within the Russian Federation. Is that a fact? Yes, it is. On the other hand, it is a similarly immutable fact that there is a conflict, a conflict of interests, a conflict of the political structures of the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation. That is the second fact. And the third fact is community of interests—economic, defense, cultural and human ties. They are the three facts that may give rise to a normal formula for mutual relations between the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation."

Stankevich then comments on the same subject, saying: "There is another formula that should be remembered when speaking of such conflicts. The best means of fighting madness is to allow it to exhaust itself. Experience shows that plans, projects and various ambitious adventures built on sand exhaust themselves very quickly and collapse even without any kind of external influence on them. In fact, a certain sobering up is now in progress, following the original intoxication with sovereignty, which became a fetish."

He goes on to add: "In politics, I think that right now we can see a sobering up, as well as the fact that a natural selection is taking place. What does not work is being discarded, madness is in retreat, and perfectly clear and practical tasks, for which the Constitution is, incidentally, a very important word, are coming to the fore."

Shakray then speaks, turning to the concept of sovereignty: "Let's decipher what lies behind that political formula, sovereignty. When we decipher it, it turns out that it is a collection of powers—in other words, the state's rights and obligations vis-a-vis its people. And the collection of rights, if we translate from the abstract thesis of sovereignty, means that the sovereignty of Russia's republics will have among its powers: The impossibility of altering a republic's territory without its consent, and the impossiblity of imposing on a republic, let's say, a unified system of power organization. Yes, a republic forms its system of power, the organs of power, independently.

"But we also write in the fundamentals of the constitutional system that the system of power in a republic cannot run counter to the fundamentals of Russia's constitutional system. Russia is a secular, law-governed, democratic and federative state, with sovereignty of the people and with a division of powers. This means that in no republic can there be a religious political regime. It means that in no republic can there be a monarchy. It means that in no republic is it permitted to dissolve the representative bodies and have only the executive, or vice versa. A balance between representative and legislative power is essential.

"Finally, the most important thing is the sovereignty of the people—the fact that the only source of power for those who wield it is the citizens, who elect the whole system of a body."

Shakhray then says that he wants to explain the controversy over the Upper Chamber: "Our working group of representatives of components of the Russian Federation laid down that, for a transitional period, the Upper Chamber of the parliament, the Federation Council, is formed from the leading figures of representative and executive power—two people from each component. A storm of criticism descended on us immediately, claiming that this was a violation of the principle of the division of powers, it was a violation of the principle of

democracy, and so on, and so forth. But none of us must forget that the Russian state must combine two principles in its constitution: The division of powers, and federalism. We now need to obtain a parliament whose decisions are an expression of the consent of the components of the Russian Federation, of a chamber specially convened for that purpose, and whose decisions would be implemented. At the moment, we in Moscow stamp our laws and decrees, but they are implemented only by those who want to, and those who don't want to don't implement them. One of the reasons for this is the fact that these decisions are not the products of consent, the products of consent of the components of the Russian Federation. The deputies who sit in the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet represent a group of electors, but they do not represent their republic, nor do they represent their kray or oblast. They are not responsible for these decisions. So I think that the Russian Federation needs to benefit from the experience of the upper chamber in Germany, for the transition period at least, since that chamber of the state-wide parliament essentially comprises the leaders of the executive of the Laender—in other words, those who, after harmonizing the interests..." At this point Solomatin interrupts to ask: "The head of administration?"

Shakhray continues: "The head of administration. But we are now proceeding with two people—those who, after harmonizing the interest and registering it with an all-federation law, are later responsible for its implementation. If we do not ensure that link now, our state will not be federative, and our laws will continue to die."

Shakhray then goes on to say: "For me, taking advantage of television, the main issue is to try together to understand: Why a constitution rather than economic reform? Could it not be left for better times? For myself, I see the following train of thought. In order to deal with the economy, economic reform, in a state like Russia, state power is needed, and strong state power at that, because 100 percent of the economy used to be in the hands of the state. At the federal level, state power is now paralyzed. The president and the government, on one side, and the Supreme Soviet and the Congress, on the other, have effectively paralyzed one another. In other words, it turns out that, at the state-wide level, there is none of the state power that is necessary for the implementation of economic reform."

Solomatin then asks if the country is suffering from dyarchy or anarchy. Shakhray replies: "Dyarchy, since there are two centers, two political centers, that have paralyzed one another. Well, in theory, classically, that is called dyarchy. But for people, for all of us, it is anarchy. There are only two ways to restore state power and the governability of the state. Either someone may resolve the issue by force, but neither parliament nor the president have the power for that. Or some agreement has to be reached. And the Constitution is now the means that allows the question of power to be resolved by peaceful means. In other words, the Constitution is the means that opens up the road toward elections, and through elections, political elites are replaced by peaceful means rather than on the barricades. After all, one cannot cling to power indefinitely. Dyarchy ends in civil war and dictatorship, or in that very compromise and consent that are now being sought at the Constitutional Conference."

Open Letter Questions Conference Methods

PM2506100993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

["Own information" report: "Displaying Political Wisdom"]

[Text] At a press conference of the Russian Social-Liberal Party, the Federation of Russian Commodity Producers, and the "Consolidation" Party, an open letter was read out addressed to the Russian Federation president, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chairman, the Russian Federation people's deputies, and the participants in the Constitutional Conference. It expresses concern at the fact that the constructive work of the first stage of the conference could be canceled out: There is a danger that the 26 June plenary session will adopt the text of the constitution without discussing or considering the amendments adopted in the first 10 days of work. The methods of conducting the 16 June session and the statement adopted at it are grounds for disquiet. The draft declaration on the Russian constitution previously supported by the conference participants has been amended, losing very important provisions regarding the separation of powers, the supremacy of right and law, and Russia's integrity and unity. The procedure for adopting the 16 June statement, when the text was simply read out to the plenary session participants and a vote held without discussion, gives rise to legitimate anxiety that on 26 June too an apparat version of the text of the constitution will be presented with a similar procedure for its adoption.

The authors of the letter have appealed to the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of Russian People's Deputies to display political wisdom.

Communist Faction Explains Submission of Draft

PM2406141393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 1

[Valentina Nikiforova report under "Constitutional Matters" rubric: "Guarantees for All. Benefits for the Weak"]

[Text] Communist deputies are once again insisting that now is not the time to adopt a new constitution. But they are being forced to respond to the presidential side's actions—and to fine-tune and submit a draft Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federation and press for it to be discussed, Doctor of Economic Sciences I. Bratishchev, cochairman of the "Communists of Russia" faction, said at a news conference.

Opponents see the only difference in the communists' draft (over 400 deputies from other factions—"Fatherland," "Agrarian Union," "Russia," "Sovereignty and Equality," and "Industrial Union"—also worked on it) as being that it does not contain the post of president. Professional lawyers V. Martemyanov and B. Khangeldyyev, and Prof. I. Osadchiy, who took part in the news conference, explained in concise but intelligible terms the concept of a national policy [natsionalnaya politika] aimed at strengthening the integrity of the state and the social thrust of economic development, and in particular settling questions of ownership in a fully democratic manner.

And, most important, the draft soviet constitution clearly prescribes concrete social guarantees for the working person, ensuring him a worthy life. What is more, the draft also stipulates benefits for three social groups—pensioners, children, and large families. This draft is worth campaigning for, it is worth supporting.

Divergent Assessments of Conference Offered

PM2406132393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Interviews with Dr. of Juridical Sciences Anatoliy Kovler and Gennadiy Sklyar, cochairman of Socialist Party of Working People, by Aleksandr Meshkov under "Our Microphone in Kremlin" rubric; place and date not given: "Opposite Opinions. Two Compositions on One Theme"]

[Text] ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondent asked two participants in the Constitutional Conference working in the same group—the political parties and public organizations group—but in different capacities, as an expert and as a member of this group, to share their impressions of the first stage of the conference. Their opinions proved to be diametrically opposed.

Surprisingly Concerted Work

Dr. of Juridical Sciences Anatoliy Kovler, Constitutional Conference expert:

After analyzing other countries' experience last winter, the Comparative Law Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law suggested such a form of resolving the constitutional crisis as the Constitutional Conference. Incidentally, the latter has been held in some countries where there has been a transition from totalitarianism to democracy. In Germany, for example, during 1947-1949, in Greece after the collapse of the "black colonels'" regime, etc.

So the very fact of convening the Constitutional Conference in Russia can only be welcomed. But this does not mean that I totally agree with the way this idea was realized. It seems to me that the makeup of its participants ought to have been restricted to representatives of the components of the Federation, to leaders of political parties and movements, and also to invited experts. The conference would have turned out more compact, and there would have been no need to combine contradictory drafts prepared by five groups. Also the Constitutional Conference itself should have been convened a year ago under the auspices of the president and the Supreme Soviet of Russia. At that time it would have also been possible to resolve a number of important issues which now seem insoluble.

Nevertheless, the work on the draft of the new constitution in the political parties and public organizations group inspires some optimism. After recovering from the shock caused by the ugly incidents on the conference's opening day, our group's members set about transferring all that is best in the Constitutional Commission's draft and the text of the current constitution into the president's draft of the Fundamental Law. It was gratifying that the leaders of very diverse political groupings, who could have been expected to engage in all sorts of squabbles and in-fighting, got down to concerted work surprisingly quickly. Maybe this was accounted for by the fact that there was no need to play to the audience [zhat na publiku]: There were no television cameras or journalists in the room.

It went without saying, as it were, that amendments concerning particular social groups were submitted by representatives of public organizations which reflected the interests of these groups. For example, proposals on questions of maternity and childhood were made by the leaders of the Russian Womens Committee, and on army topics by members of the "Military for Democracy" movement.

Many political parties not represented in the present parliament have gotten a unique opportunity to "prove" ["aprobirovat"] themselves in a situation approximating to parliamentary work, an opportunity to participate directly in norm-creating activity. Therefore I regard the present Constitutional Conference as a kind of "preparliament" ["predparlament"]. I am very sorry that those organizations which refused to participate in the conference for political reasons or which did not have time to apply have been unable to attend this **school of political cooperation...**

The President Is Not at All Ready for a Dialogue

Gennadiy Sklyar, cochairman of the Socialist Party of Working People and participant in the Constitutional Conference:

The first stage of the Constitutional Conference's work has shown that the president's entourage does not want a dialogue, although it constantly declares that it strives for one. It seems to me that the president himself is not ready for a dialogue either psychologically or physically. He simply cannot abide one.... Yeltsin is inclined to a monologue.

This was confirmed, for example, by the last plenary session, held 16 June. On the threshold of it the political parties and public organizations group spent half an hour

discussing the question of whom to entrust with delivering the information report on the results of its work at that session. Finally, we agreed on the candidacy of G. Popov. But the president managed to hold that session in the space of 20 minutes, and the groups' representatives did not get to speak....

Curious scenes were played out before our eyes. Additional chairs were placed at the side, and these seats were taken by some young people whom we had not clapped eyes on before. The president announced that the vote on the question of adopting the constitutional statement would be taken by a show of hands. This meant that these very young people, who were not authorized to participate in the meeting, would also vote. So it turned out. But, despite the unprecedented "artillery preparation" on the president's part, still more than 100 conference participants voted against or abstained....

Not even the "die-hards" of the former CPSU Central Committee could have afforded such disrespect for the assembled people or disregard for the opinion of the conference participants.

But here 50-70 people turn up for a session of a group with 175 members, a decision is adopted by 35 votes, and such a decision is considered competent. At the same time it is made out that all is in order and that "serious work on constitutional documents is being done."

I believe that the decisions adopted at the Constitutional Conference are, thus, dubious, to say the least. I regard the statement that the Constitutional Conference must be preserved and turned into a permanently functioning organ as an attempt to create a tool to put pressure on the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies.

Economic Issues

Planned Coal Price Strategy 'Suits' Miners Union

PM2406181993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Feedback" rubric: "Trade Union's Reaction"]

[Text] The Independent Miners Union of Russia [IMU] has welcomed the presidential edict.

"The 250-percent increase in wholesale prices from 1 July, followed by a monthly increase of approximately 16 percent, with a final transfer to free prices at the end of the year suits us," IMU Chairman Aleksandr Sergeyev said. "But the question should be resolved as a whole: The Ministry of Fuel and Energy has not worked out an integrated program to transfer the sector to the market; there is no clarity in questions of closing and mothballing loss-making mines and providing employment for miners out of the state budget. We will try resolutely to find solutions to these urgent problems."

Miners' Strike, Subsidies Viewed

PM2406131593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 93 pp 1,3

[Article by Yevgeniy Anisimov: "Are Miners Fanning Flames of Inflation?"]

[Text] The government building in Moscow continues to be picketed by miners who have come from Rostov Oblast, ITAR-TASS reports. They are demanding the fulfillment of the sectorial wage agreement, the prompt payment of wages and subsidies, and the fulfillment of the mine development and social program. But the pickets believe that is not the main thing. The main thing is to prevent the industry's collapse.

A Russian president's edict was signed recently on the release of prices for coal. It is perfectly obvious that he was pushed to take this step by the recent strikes by the Ukrainian miners, whose example has inspired the Rostov miners. To all appearances prices are being released not only to convince international financial organizations of the unaltered nature of the Russian Government's course toward reforms but also to remove a strong trump card from the miners' hand. Henceforth the government can always tell them: You can set the prices you want, so decide your problems for yourselves. But the focus is on the fact that without subsidies the mines (at least, the majority) cannot survive—there is not an adequate effective demand. Consumers will reject coal, and then what? Then the miners will have to go to the government again but this time not in the role of people with the right to demand money, benefits, food, and other things but only in the role of petitioners.

It may seem that this is betrayal of the miners themselves who by their active stance supported the reformers, sent delegates to political debates, and held strikes and meetings... And, alas, that will in part be the truth. Indeed, by supporting the marketeers the miners have dug a trap for themselves. But not because the government and reformers are so bad—the development of civilization has proceeded along a path on which demand for coal is declining while expenditure on its extraction is, on the contrary, increasing. Breaking a natural process and denying objective reality means driving our economy into an impasse. Subsidies are like a drug and after a brief improvement in mood there follows a "letdown" after which a bigger dose is needed, and so on endlessly until the money runs out. Our money has run out.

We smelted more pig iron and steel than anyone—in order aimlessly to dump them in the swamps of Tyumen and the Baykal-Amur Railroad zone without counting them and without a return on them. We produced an enormous quantity of new tractors which our agriculture could have done without had there been spare parts for the old ones. We extracted an increasing quantity of crude oil in order to send it abroad and eat up the hard currency. Although we could have set up oil refining in our own country and traded if necessary in the finished output. We burned coal, oil, and gas as though Russia's

subterranean depths were inexhaustible, as though our children and grandchildren would not come after us... At some time this must be stopped. It is clear that without the drug of money the operation will be painful—it is no accident that the president's edict provides for the elaboration of an entire complex of measures to put right those mines which will be unable to cope alone with the difficulties. It is no accident that this same edict repeals the compulsory sale of their currency profit by the coal producers and exporters and introduces customs benefits for them. With currency one can survive even in times of hardship. It is no accident that immediately after the edict talk began about how the miners should be given the opportunity to find themselves in the new conditions—to retrain, for instance. M. Thatcher was obliged to resign as British prime minister in part because she had closed unprofitable mines. But she was obliged to do it, just as our government will be obliged to do it. Alas...

In all likelihood after 1 July (the date the edict comes into force) we should expect another spiral of inflation—until coal consumers find a replacement they will make up for their increased expenditure by raising prices. It is hard to predict how much prices will rise—perhaps the overall level will double, perhaps it will increase sixfold. In their calculations different experts are pursuing different aims and so they are counting differently.

Thus the first natural energy carrier in Russia has been released, told: God be with you. They say that "freedom comes naked." Someone will have to undress, that is true. Either the miners or everyone else. And it would be good to have at least something to hand which could be draped over the miners' bare shoulders to protect them from the bad weather at least initially.

Coal Sector Gets R50 Billion Grant for Wage Fund

PM2506085793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[INTERFAX report under "Feedback" rubric: "Sector To Receive 50 Billion Rubles"]

[Text] Leader of the "Rosugol" state enterprise Yuriy Malyshev reported that the Ministry of Finance has appropriated 50 billion rubles for the coal-mining sector to meet debts to the miners in connection with the tariff agreement which the government signed with the Independent Miners Union at the beginning of the year. This fund will basically be used to pay miners' wages. Yu. Malyshev also said that the government had charged his company with preparing within two weeks a system for transferring the sector to a free price market, in accordance with the edict of the Russian Federation president.

Bank Deputy Head on Bribery Charges Against Officials

PM2406151793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 1

[Interview with Aleksandr Khandruyev, deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, by Anatoliy Diordiyenko; place and date not given: "Four Arrested Central Bank of Russia Employees Accused of Taking Bribes"]

[Text] A sensational report flew around the mass media the other day: Four Central Bank of Russia employees have been arrested and charged with receiving particularly large bribes. A director of one of Moscow's commercial banks has been arrested along with them.

How come the dangerous contagion of crime has penetrated the country's main bank, whose squeaky-clean credentials should be beyond doubt? We invited Aleksandr Khandruyev, deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, to answer this question.

[Khandruyev] All sorts of conjectures have been circulating in the mass media in connection with the arrest of the four Central Bank of Russia employees but they have nothing directly to do with the essence of the matter in question. Well, first and foremost the arrested employees are not members of the bank's top leadership, they were engaged in work connected with one of its functions. They have been charged with receiving bribes for processing payment orders. Moreover, these may not have been bogus orders. Given our disorganized payments system, bribes are offered fairly often to speed up payments, a state of affairs which could have been exploited by unscrupulous people. In itself, therefore, the accusation of bribery does not mean that these employees are guilty of processing false advice notes or issuing preferential loans. Only an investigation can prove the extent of their guilt, and it would be unethical on my part to accuse people in advance of having committed the crimes they are charged with before I have receive the results of the investigation and the verdict.

I can say that during recent months the Central Bank has been cooperating very effectively with the law enforcement organs, and combating false advice notes forms part of our joint work.

We introduced a new protective system from December last year—encoding telegraphed advice notes and double-checking advice procedures—and according to our information, we have been able to thwart the processing of false advice notes worth 500 billion rubles. In addition, since last November we have limited the circulation of "Rossiya" checks, which were being widely forged, to circulation within cities. Incidentally, the IMF has approved this decision as being the only correct one. In the future we intend to develop check circulation but on a new material and technical basis with the introduction of additional protection.

But the main thing, I think, is that the soil which allowed crime to flourish in the banking sphere was prepared by decisions made by the former leadership of the Central Bank of Russia with regard to the hasty change in the payments procedure and the poorly thought-out formation of an enormous number of cash payment centers (more than 1,300 as against the 1,200 banks which existed at the time). This collapse of the payments system was aggravated by a mutual nonpayments crisis, the breakup of the single ruble area, and not just a general worsening of payment discipline, but also an increase in the time it took to deliver documents. All this was exploited by criminal elements. We can describe what had happened by the middle of last year in the payments system as a banking Chernobyl. The new leadership is finding it very hard to correct all this. As the proverb puts it: The sins of the fathers are visited on the children.

Draft on Land Privatization Checks Submitted

PM2406103993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report from roundup of RIA NOVOSTI and INTERFAX reports: "Land Vouchers"]

[Text] This week the Russian State Committee for the Administration of State Property submitted to the Russian Government a draft "basic provisions of Russian Federation legislation on personalized land privatization checks (land certificates)."

The draft provides for the "free transfer to the private ownership of Russian citizens, in the process of privatization, of land sectors owned by the state." The personalized land privatization check, according to the draft, should be "a multipurpose state bond" and be used as payment when privatizing land sectors and should authenticate citizens' right of ownership of these sectors and also of "land sectors in the form of individual land plots (shares) in partnerships (joint stock companies) or agricultural production cooperatives created within the procedure for the transformation of collective and state farms and state agricultural enterprises." The following are not subject to privatization for personalized land privatization checks:

—federal lands recognized as such by legislative acts of the Russian Federation and republics;

—lands attached to state and municipal enterprises which have been privatized or are liable to privatization.

It is proposed that land sectors will be sold for personalized land privatization checks at auction, by lottery, or by direct sale while observing the intended purpose of land sectors.

Military Issues

Further on Possible Strike in Arzamas-16

MK2406114093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No 69, 24 Jun 93 (signed to press 23 Jun) p 1

[Commentary by Igor Mosin of NEKOSA press service: "Arzamas-16 Makes Demands"]

[Text] Developers of nuclear weapons in Arzamas-16 are gearing up to strike. They are being prompted to this extraordinary step by the complete neglect on the part of supreme state administration bodies of the problems related to nuclear weapons.

This cannot happen even in a nightmare. People who deal with the most destructive force on the planet have to call for attention from state bodies in this absolutely abnormal, wild manner. Today much can be understood and justified. Miners are on strike—okay, we can endure that; light industry has stopped—all right, we can do without socks and T-shirts for a while; trolley bus drivers make trouble—we can go on foot just as well. In the long run this is not lethal.

But in any society there are structures that the state is simply obliged to control and maintain under any political, economic, and other circumstances. If they get out of control, it could be fatal not only for the physical existence of the state itself but—big as it might sound—also for the entire world. These are above all nuclear weapons and plants. The state that allows itself the luxury of having nuclear weapons and nuclear power stations has no right to neglect these structures. Chernobyl has shown that there are no small problems with the atom. Specialists know very well that in terms of its potential hazard, Arzamas-16 is thousands of times more dangerous than Chernobyl. A strike by nuclear scientists is good reason for the resignation of all state officials who are responsible for this area of work. Unless they go now, tomorrow we might not be there any more.

What do the nuclear scientists want? Higher wages? This is not their main demand, even though top-class specialists, academicians, doctors of sciences, and designers get a mere 30,000 to 35,000 rubles a month. They are ashamed to have to beg for their livelihood their own state which they have turned into a strong military power. They have not been paid any wages since April. In a closed city, where there are virtually no possibilities for so-called commercial undertakings, this is a catastrophe.

The nuclear scientists demand the provision of requisite conditions to maintain the security of handling nuclear weapons. After all, they have to organize their transportation, dismantling, and storage. This is a formidable task requiring the resolution of a whole mass of problems and calling for corresponding material and financial provision. When politicians make their "watershed" decisions, they do not take counsel with specialists. Now the situation has approached a line beyond which it is

impossible to continue normal work. The state has not provided conditions for such work in the federal nuclear center—the capital of our nuclear weapons: no metal, no gasoline, no requisite equipment or materials.

Last year the Russian president visited Arzamas-16. But nothing has changed since then. The programs developed by federal nuclear centers to enhance the security of nuclear weapons have long been gathering dust in state bodies. No progress there either. Who is there to ask for help? Whose door is there to knock at?

Nuclear weapons live according to their own physical laws. The terrible power that lurks inside could not care less about our present difficulties. If it gets out of control—and signs in Arzamas-16 are that we are close to this—I would hate to think of what could happen to us.

There are fundamental problems and there are current problems. Today all the political fighters and parties must put their battles aside. Arzamas-16 calls for the urgent solution of its problems, punishment of the guilty, and restoration of order. The situation is such that tomorrow, sad as it might be, there will simply be nothing to fight for—either ourselves, or officials, or new constitutions.

Nuclear Scientists Warn of Safety Threats

PM2406155993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 June 93 p 3

["Open letter from the Union of Nuclear Weapons Development Workers to the Russian Federation President, government, and Supreme Soviet," signed by V.E. Moskalenko, first deputy chairman of the Union of Nuclear Weapons Development Workers Council, and "adopted by the Union of Nuclear Weapons Development Workers Council 10 Jun 1993, Armazas-16": "Preventing Chernobyls"]

[Text] Esteemed President, Esteemed Members of the Russian Federation Government and Supreme Soviet!

Our open appeal pursues the goal of bringing to your attention the critical socioeconomic situation which has arisen in Russian federal nuclear centers, and which is inevitably leading to the degradation of the country's scientific-technical potential which ensures the safety and reliability of the nuclear weapons complex and enables us to maintain parity and stability in the troubled modern world.

While we welcome the process of nuclear weapons reductions now under way, we note that the safe destruction of the nuclear munitions subject to reduction as a result of international treaties is a complex scientific and technical task requiring great financial and material expenditure, the construction of special installations for dismantling charges and for the long-term storage of plutonium, and the development and manufacture of special containers and apparatus. The safe elimination of stockpiled nuclear weapons will take decades.

The utopian slogan heard on the lips of the first USSR president—"into the 21st century without nuclear weapons"—was a regular political charade. At the present time some countries not in possession of nuclear weapons are seeking to acquire them, while nuclear powers such as the United States, Britain, and France are not setting themselves the task of fully eliminating them. This is linked first and foremost to the fact that nuclear weapons, even in limited quantities, are an effective deterrent against aggression. The reality of the modern world is that nuclear weapons will be retained for a long time to come. In these conditions the tasks of ensuring the security and reliability of our remaining nuclear weapons and their modernization with the aim of achieving the said tasks move to the fore. The extent of the real security of nuclear weapons depends on the scientific-technical potential of federal nuclear centers and the attitude of the country's leadership to this important problem.

The presence of socially protected, skilled cadres, mighty computing centers, purpose-built physics installations and technical equipment, and test sites is a necessary condition of guaranteeing the security of nuclear weapons for as long as even just one nuclear munition remains on Russian territory.

"Savings" on the funding of priority work in the sphere of nuclear weapons security cannot be justified by Russia's difficult economic position, since expenditure on the elimination of the consequences of a major disaster involving just one nuclear munition, according to the estimates of U.S. and Russian specialists, would come to several hundred billion rubles (more than $500 million).

Aware of the extremely high responsibility placed on us in the work of ensuring the safety of nuclear weapons, we affirm that, unless the process of operating, dismantling, and disassembling nuclear weapons receives the proper scientific-technical backup, and unless new security measures are introduced, given the growth of the accident rate in transportation, the general decline in discipline, and the deterioration of the socioeconomic situation, nuclear incidents with consequences comparable to Chernobyl cannot be safely ruled out. To avert such consequences the federal nuclear centers have elaborated state programs, which have been submitted to the government.

Recent years have seen a marked trend toward the destruction of the federal nuclear centers' scientific-technical potential, which was created in highly complex conditions by the efforts of the whole people and which is Russia's national heritage.

The most important causes of the destruction of the scientific-technical potential are the following:

—the unclear attitude of the country's leadership to the socioeconomic situation of federal nuclear centers and the problems of nuclear weapons security;

—the drastic reduction in the prestige of the work and of labor incentives, which is leading to the departure of specialists for other spheres of activity and to the absence of an influx of young specialists;

—the lack of sociolegal protection given the existence of a number of restrictions on privatization, freedom of movement, working conditions, travel abroad, the control of intellectual property, and others;

—the sharp decline in standards of living, low pay, and the insufficient funding of experimental work;

—negative pressure from certain sections of the mass media.

All these factors, combined with systematic delays in the payment of wages and threats not to pay them in the future, have brought the entire scientific-technical staff of nuclear centers to the brink of poverty.

Repeated appeals to the highest state bodies about the need to take urgent measures to correct the situation have brought no positive results.

We are forced to observe that the widely advertised concern of Russia's politicians and statesmen over the problem of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapon technologies is in glaring contradiction with the humiliating socioeconomic situation in which federal nuclear center specialists have been placed in recent times and which is encouraging an exodus from the centers and the spread of nuclear technology carriers outside Russia.

The hopelessness of the situation, which is aggravated by the state's negligent attitude to those of its citizens who have devoted their lives to its national security, has reached a point beyond which, against their will and their convictions, nuclear weapon development workers will be unable to ensure the reliability and safety of Russia's nuclear weapons and will be forced to quit this sphere of activity.

The urgent adoption of cardinal measures at the level of the supreme organs of power is essential to correct the existing critical situation.

Adopted by the Union of Nuclear Weapons Development Workers Council 10 June 1993, Armazas-16

[Signed] V.E. Moskalenko, first deputy chairman of the Union of Nuclear Weapons Development Workers Council

The appeal is distributed via the "Nekosa" press service.

Wages Nonpayment Threatens Nuclear Safety Body Work

PM2406110193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 93 6irst Edition p 6

[Yuriy Rogozhin report: "Atomic Industry Workers Still Without Wages"]

[Text] Staffers at Moscow's Scientific and Technical Center for Nuclear and Radiation Safety under the Russian State Committee for the Supervision of Nuclear and Radiation Safety have not been paid their salaries for two months now.

The Ministry of Finance is delaying the transfer of money to the center's accounts, citing lack of budget funds. The center's collective is seething, and some people have already handed in their notice. If this goes on, who will look after the safety of Russia's nuclear monster, which arouses justified public concern—abroad too? After all, such "savings" could result in huge losses as a result of nuclear and radiation accidents. And then it will not be just the Ministry of Finance that has to answer this question.

More on 'Army Reform' News Conference on Corruption

PM2406143993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 2

[S. Turchenko report: "Businessmen in Uniform"]

[Text] The "Army Reform" deputies group held a news conference in the Parliamentary Center yesterday on the subject "Army Elite: Hard-Core Lawlessness [bezzakoniye v zakone]." Russian Federation People's Deputies Vladimir Anichev, Anatoliy Koltunov, Vitaliy Urazhtsev, and Yuriy Yudin participated in it. They spoke of the grave crime situation in the Armed Forces, whose epicenter lies in the upper army echelon. Here are just a few facts, many of which were corroborated by documents.

A group of top army officers headed by Defense Minister Grachev illegally privatized the state dachas of members of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency with a total value of 3 billion rubles at last year's prices. Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov even contrived to assume private ownership of an underground military bunker. Some $3 million earmarked for meeting the social needs of officers being discharged vanished somewhere. The minister of defense does not respond to deputies' questions about its fate. On the defense minister's instructions, foreign currency earmarked for the construction of houses for officers being withdrawn from the Western Group of Forces has been used to buy foreign makes of cars abroad. Armed Forces pay does not go directly to units and large units but passes first through commercial structures. Slick operators cut coupons from it, some of which reach army accounts very

belatedly [S nego deltsy strigut kupony, chast kotorykh s bolshim opozdaniyem postupayet na armeyskiye scheta].

The rotten leadership is infecting the entire organism of the Armed Forces. Thefts and robberies, sales of weapons and bribe taking, drug addiction and drunkenness are flourishing in the Army. The most wholesome section of the officer corps does not wish to serve in such an atmosphere. More than 50,000 young officers have been discharged from the Army over the past 18 months alone. There has been a steep increase in the number of suicides. Today suicide accounts for one death in every five in the Armed Forces.

Deputies have repeatedly written Yeltsin about all the disgraceful things happening in the Army and have submitted deputies' questions. But they have not yet been set in motion. It was pointed out at the news conference that Grachev, taking advantage of the president's patronage, has altogether banned representatives of the "Army Reform" deputies group from being given access to the territory of military units, to ensure that dirty linen is not washed in public.

"The Russian Federation president is not the tuning fork of legality," Vitaliy Urazhtsev summed up the news conference. "Therefore our deputies group has begun a campaign to remove Yeltsin and elect Aleksandr Rutskoy to the post of president of the Russian Federation. We also propose new candidacies for the posts of ministers of defense, internal affairs, and security. Without this, order cannot be instilled, particularly in the Army, for it is a copy of society—unfortunately, no less corrupt."

Yeltsin 'Instruction' Orders Housing for Servicemen

LD2406102493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has signed an instruction on the provision of housing this year for servicemen, reserve servicemen, those employed in the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and members of their families. The president's press service reports that, in accordance with the document, the departments concerned must hand over for use by servicemen and employees of the Ministry for Internal Affairs over 5,000 square meters of housing. In addition, local executive organs of power must allocate over 3,000 more square meters to reserve or retired servicemen as well as to border guards. The finance ministry has been given the task of preparing proposals on comprehensive financing of this expenditure.

Military Exercises To Demonstrate New Equipment

LD2406223193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1028 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS military correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jun— What equipment should Russian ground and airborne troops, Army aviation and mobile forces have in the next few decades? Scientific research exercises on 25 June in a military garrison in Kubinka, near Moscow, under general command of Andrey Kokoshin, first deputy defense minister of the Russian Federation, should give an answer to the question.

In an interview with an ITAR-TASS observer, Colonel General Aleksandr Galkin, head of the Main Directorate for Armored Troops of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and a direct organiser of the exercises, commented on the aims of the unique exercises.

The economic situation and military expediency make us define in a rather short period of time the directions of the development of military systems and basic models of armaments and equipment, and balance their output at the country's defense enterprises. The target of reducing and standardizing to the maximum the types of military models which are already in service and coming into service with troops is becoming imperative, and to an enormous degree the level of combat readiness of the Russian armed forces in the next 10-15 years, and even in a more distant future, depends on it.

The General Staff, the Ministry of Defense and their directorates have been studying these questions all this year. Research exercises were held at Gorokhovets training center in the Moscow Military District, near St. Petersburg, at the training range in Kapustin Yar, where antiaircraft defense systems of ground troops were tested under the supervision of Andrey Kokoshin. All this work will be summed up at tomorrow's exercise in Kubinka. Its purpose is to assess the levels of the main combat and technical features of different models of weapons and equipment; to work out recommendations as regards their further development and use; and to define in greater detail a long-term program of equipping the Russian armed forces and Navy up to the year 2005. In addition, a number of issues is to be solved at the exercise, including a unification of weapons platforms and developing a new generation of basic chassis to replace those currently being produced in the former USSR countries.

During the exercise, new types of military equipment, soon to come into service in the Russian mobile forces, will be demonstrated. Those include combat M-80 helicopters (better known in military circles as Ka-50) and Mi-28, airborne fighting vehicles (BMD-3), which will be used as a platform for all the armaments of the airborne assault forces (VDV); T-90 tanks; communications, reconnaissance and command vehicles; repair and recovery equipment; multitrack automobile carriers [avtomobilnyye transportery-mnogozvenniki]; and combat vehicles of the Hummer type, capable of carrying a wide range of antitank weapons. It is also expected that new weapons of radio-electronic warfare, which can take missiles with a radar proximity fuse off their trajectory, will be shown in action.

Apart from generals and experts of the Russian armed forces, leaders of the government and parliament, Ministry of Security and Interior Ministry are expected in Kubinka tomorrow.

Supreme Soviet

Makarov on Investigations Into Corruption

LD2506103093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by Deputy Procurator General Nikolay Makarov to the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 24 June—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, esteemed people's deputies of the Supreme Soviet: In keeping with the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of 28 April of this year, a special commission of the Procurator General's Office of the Russian Federation was formed of six independent procurators to check the information indicated by Vice President Rutskoy and other materials of the law enforcement bodies. Verification has been planned and started on 55 questions tabled in the report by Rutskoy and requiring assessment from the standpoint of the law.

The commission has received more than 20 reports both from the vice president and from the special commission of the Supreme Soviet of Russia on verification of the inquiries and statements of a group of people's deputies on abuses in the distribution and marketing of raw and other materials, gold, and diamonds, and in the use of foreign loans of some committees of the Supreme Soviet.

The materials under verification indicated in the report and also in publications in the press on these questions and other breaches of legislation at the request of the Ministry of Security and Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] of Russia amount to a quantity exceeding 3,000 sheets. They are still continuing to come in.

In verification of these materials a large volume of work has already been done and continues to be carried out with the participation of the appropriate specialists and experts, in particular for verification of the lawfulness of privatization of a number of enterprises of marine and air transportation, the major shipping lines, ports, aviation enterprises.

The lawfulness of allocation of quotas and licenses for a number of operations in the field of foreign economic activity including those connected with the the exportation of gold, precious and rare earth metals, raw emeralds, and also raw and other materials of the Russian State Reserve, and the lawfulness of establishment of some commercial structures and associations are the cause of Russia's nonreceipt of all foreign currency from the exportation of raw materials.

To fulfill this task we have set to work the apparatus of the Procurator General's Office including the Chief Military Procurator's Office, the procurators' offices in many regions and republics forming part of Russia, krays and oblasts. The corresponding subunits of the Ministry of Security and MVD have been enlisted, and the Federal Foreign Intelligence Service and the Russian National Bureau of Interpol have been instructed to obtain the necessary information.

Members of the commission—specialists—have traveled for on-the-spot verification to St Petersburg, Sverdlovsk Oblast, the town of Surgut in Tyumen Oblast, Nakhodka Port, and to the Western Group of Russian Forces in Germany. In addition, many procurators on the spot, without waiting for the instructions of the Procurator General's Office, have straightaway embarked on verification of information mentioned in the report of the vice president.

The work of the commission is still far from complete, but already the conclusion can be drawn that a number of pieces of information cited in the report of Vice President Rutskoy are being confirmed. True, many of them were known to the law enforcement bodies. In particular, the Procurator's Office had, apart from and even before the report of the Vice President, instituted legal proceedings and inquiry. Currently already more than ten criminal cases are being investigated, in particular on the Baltic Marine Shipping Line. The Procurator's Office of the city of St. Petersburg is investigating the criminal case regarding the heads of the joint stock company Baltic Marine Shipping Line for embezzlement of foreign currency funds and other machinations. The president of the joint stock company, his deputy, the chief engineer and other executive officials are being prosecuted.

At the beginning of June of this year a criminal investigation was launched into the negligence of the head of one of the Aervneshtekhpostavki departments, whose actions have caused considerable damage to the state to the sum of more than $4,500,000. The Chelyabinsk oblast procuracy has launched a criminal investigation with regard to officials of the Chelyabinsk metallurgical complex, who had set up a joint-stock company Tomed without any knowledge of it on the part of the working collective. Then this company concluded an agreement on cooperation with a small Moscow business, Star. According to the agreement, Star was to transfer to Tomed more than R2 billion from Moscow commercial enterprises allegedly for the production of consumer goods. However, the agreement was formulated in such a way that it allowed the money to be used for other purposes. As has already been confirmed during the investigation, the real purpose of setting up Tomed was to buy the controlling pack of shares of the metallurgical complex. The procuracy has brought an action to the court of arbitration to declare that the setting up of this joint-stock company was illegal.

It has also been established that when the Maritime Kray Marine Shipping Line, Nakhodka marine trade shipping point, and Nakhodka shipyard were transformed into a

joint-stock company, there were breaches of the necessary conditions of the state privatization program of 1992, approved by the Supreme Soviet last June. In particular, the local territorial committee of the Russian State Committee for Management of State Property did not take into consideration the opinion of the Russian Transport Ministry on this issue. Moreover, it is impossible to differentiate the size of the capital stock of the created joint-stock companies due to flaws in the law on privatization, which were mentioned by the vice president in his speech.

Because of the abovementioned irregularities the State Committee for Management of State Property issued an order in January of this year declaring these decisions incompatible with the current law, and the issue of further transformation of the abovementioned enterprises is at present decided at the government level.

Equally, the process of privatization of Murmansk Marine Shipping Line has not been completed yet. Bearing in mind that this Shipping Line has a fleet of nuclear ice-breakers, which cannot be privatized as it is used to carry out state programs in the Far North, the Russian State Committee for Management of State Property, in accordance with a proposal of the Russian Transport Ministry, is studying the issue of securing the fleet in state ownership.

During an inspection of vodka production, instances of delivery of large quantities of alcohol to various structures which were not entitled to produce alcohol products were found in nine regions. Investigation is under way to find out how this alcohol was used and whether all the necessary taxes were paid. Some facts of violations of the accounting procedures in retailing this alcohol were discovered. For example, back in September 1991, the director of the Ardinskiy plant in Nizhnyy Novgorod Oblast made a barter deal with a citizen from Tyumen Oblast who presented himself as a director of an industrial association. In accordance with this deal, 1,000 liters of alcohol was delivered but to date no payment for it has been received. The procuracy has initiated criminal proceedings on this matter which it qualifies as a case of embezzlement and fraud.

Serious violations of the law were made in the process of privatization of the Lenin Central Stadium and the creation on its basis of a joint-stock company Luzhniki. According to the program of privatization of the state and municipal property approved by the Mossovet [Moscow City Council], cultural and sports facilities are included in the list of enterprises privatization of which is forbidden. In support of position taken by people's deputies on this issue, the General Procuracy of Russia and the Supreme Arbitrage Court on 18 June this year filed a protest against the Moscow Arbitrage Court decision. In other words, it proposed to preserve the Moscow central stadium as part of the state federal property.

The facts reported in regard to the Russian House of Science and Culture in Berlin have been confirmed. In 1992, Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Poltoranin exceeded his official powers when, on behalf of the Russian Government, he signed a contract with a German businessman Aleksandr Ruberoy on passing over the property rights for the Russian House of Science and Culture [RHSC] in Berlin—valued at over 1 billion [as heard] German marks [DM]—and the right to use the land on the site of this property to Ruberoy's firm. As a result of Poltoranin's illegal actions, Russia is now drawn into a property rights dispute in regard to the RHSC in Berlin which is now subject of judicial proceedings in the FRG courts. The outcome of the proceedings cannot be predicted and it may result in Russia's losing its rights for this property. After this, no instruction of the president will have any force because in Germany they respect laws and abide by them. There a court's decision is the law.

This investigation has also established that in January this year the former RHSC director Chernyshov withdrew the appeal submitted by RAIC—the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development—to the Berlin Court against the Ruberoy's firm. On 4 February 1993, Chernyshov—by that time already no longer a director of the RHSC—sent a letter to the Court on behalf of the directorate with request to transfer the local tax, which is more than half a million German marks, to Ruberoy's firm. This was not paid only because of the Russian Government's intervention.

Investigation has at its disposal the evidence that a few days after Chernyshov's above-mentioned attempts to withdraw these documents, his account in Drezden Bank was credited with DM5,000 on 5 February and the same amount was paid into his account on 23 March 1993. On 4 June 1993 the special commission instigated criminal proceedings against Chernyshov who had committed forgery during official duty. The investigative organs have been asked to settle the issue of bringing to account Poltoranin and other officials in accordance with the law.

Criminal proceedings have been instigated by the Procurator General's Office relating to the information submitted by the vice president on red mercury. The procurator general's investigation department is conducting the investigation. The material we have bears witness to the fact that between 1990 and 1993 commercial structures have been actively trying to sell abroad the so-called red mercury. Competent ministries and departments maintain that this product was not produced in the USSR and is not being produced now in Russia. Scientists say that red mercury is not and cannot be a natural substance. There are no real manufacturers of it, nor is there any proof of how red mercury can be used. But there are many intermediaries and offers from firms in the West to buy red mercury at prices significantly higher than those for super-pure platinum and uranium. Nonetheless, in 1992, at Burbulis' proposal, an instruction by the president of the Russian Federation gave the

commercial organisation of the enterprise Promekologiya in Yekaterinburg the monopoly right to produce and sell red mercury. Investigations are still in their initial stages—a number of officials have been questioned in connection with the documents relating to this issue, in particular Gaydar and Burbulis. The question of ordering a special chemical examination of a few samples is being decided. The period for this type of examination, the experts believe, is between one and three months and investigations will therefore be extended until roughly October this year.

A large package of issues relating to the 1990 harvest program have been investigated. According to figures from the Tsentrsoyuz [union's center - a consumer association] the trade networks sold only slightly more than 50 percent of goods for checks by 1 June 1993, and yet all these checks were redeemed. In order to complete it, taking into account current prices, no less than R373,000 million are necessary, although by government instruction of 26 July 1990 on this issue, only R10,000 million were necessary, and it was to have been completed by 1 October 1991. Proceeding from the verificaton materials which exist today, it can be said that the obligations undertaken were not carried out in regard to the implementation of the program of commercial structures, although the former leadership of the Russian Government created all the conditions for this in the allocations in the republican budget of immediate preferential credits, quotas, and licenses for the purchase inside the country of strategic resources at cheap prices for subsequent resale to foreign firms, the freeing from tax on exports and imports, freeing from customs duties, and the unhindered passage over borders, and so on.

According to figures from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Links, during 1990-91 various commercial structures were allocated 158 licenses. The sum of the strategic materials exported in accordance with these licenses is evaluated at several thousand million dollars when there were goods worth only $65.8 million. In this regard an organized verification of the legality of the procedure and conditions for issuing licenses is taking place, and also of every commercial structure and the activities of former officials in the government and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relatins with whose agreement and knowledge they were issued.

A study by the investigation department of the Moscow Internal Affairs City Directorate into crimes as regards the foreign economic association Istok has shown that its former leadership, in the persons of former Russian people's deputy, Tarasov, and his deputy, Pomonarenko, in 1991 under the harvest program received general licenses for the resale to foreign firms of 500,000 tonnes of fuel oil. But by the established time-scale, that is February 1991 they had not bought the goods. Moreover with the conscious permission of Silayev, the former chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, in violation of the procedure established by legislation, without the agreement of the USSR state bank, they transferred the foreign currency raised from the sale to French banks. They were then given around $30 million. Tarasov and Pomonarenko are now outside the Russian Federation, hiding from investigation. It must be said that the investigation of this crime was carried out by the investigation department of the Moscow internal affairs city directorate unaggressivly without the necessary control of the Russian MVD. We have given an instruction to take this case to the investigation committee of the MVD.

During 1992 the Russian Government on three occasions adopted various decisions and instructions where they determined the procedure for delivering goods for checks and allocated additional resources. For various reasons they were not carried out or were used for other aims. So of the goods worth $93 million allocated by the Tsentrsoyuz in accordance with the Russian Government instruction of 10 August 1992, $64 million were used normally by the former Russian trade ministry, and $285 million from foreign credits were not used at all.

At the same time Tsentrsoyuz used part of a preferential credit, a sum of R1,500 million allocated as payment for goods, for an initial payment toward the creation of the commercial bank Torgprodbank and for purchases of shares in the commercial bank Yedintsvo [unity] and gave the association Kompeks... [sentence incomplete as heard] According to the information provided by the commission, a criminal case has been instituted in this connection against Goryushkin, former deputy chairman of Tsentrosoyuz.

It should be pointed out that the Russian Federation Government has failed to make a serious assessment of the situation that has emerged with the fulfilment of the Harvest-90 program. No measures have been undertaken to recoup the losses that have been inflicted. Actions have not been brought against any commercial structures. The situation has also been aggravated by the fact that due to the lack of a clear mechanism for fulfilling the program and, no less important, for monitoring the procedure of its implementation, the direct distribution of the goods in return for checks in the localities has led to numerous violations by officials, the squandering of the special purpose funds, and infringement of the rights of the producers of agricultural goods. As a result of this over 40 criminal cases have been instituted against particular responsible officials over the past one and a half years. In the situation that has come about it is very important that the government still carries this matter through to its logical conclusion and fully repays the agricultural workers involved in the program.

At the same time we have prepared information for the president of the Russian Federation and the chairman of the government which proposes that an assessment be given in respect those violating the law as regards discipline. Facts concerning the squandering of state property have been established with the connivance of the supreme state officials. In March 1992 on an instruction by Tyazhelov, head of the administration of the Moscow

Oblast, a foreign economic association—in abbreviation VAMA—was set up to supply the oblast with baby food. But the authorized capital of VAMA was made up of money from private firms that have no connection whatsoever with the state organization, not of money from the administration of the oblast. On the initiative of VAMA and the oblast administration—in violation of the Russian Federation president's decree No. 335 of 30 November 1991 on the formation of a republican hard currency reserve of the Russian Federation in 1992 which prohibits the accumulation of hard currency earnings abroad—without having any lawful grounds, $14.5 million of state money was transferred to an account of a private firm in Switzerland Tolomon-Daltade. The deal was sanctioned by the then deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation Shumeyko. During the year that has elapsed since then only $1.7 million worth of baby food has been purchased.

It is true, agreements have also been signed with firms which exist only on paper, for supplies of equipment for producing baby food. Its actual cost is unknown, there are no documents recording expenses. As for the money, the $14.5 million taken from the Russian state budget is so far bringing profit to a private company and not to the state.

At the same time, the heads of VAMA, supported by the administration of Moscow Oblast, concluded an agreement on 19 May 1992 with a private Swiss company, Distal Finsley's Corporation, on setting up a joint venture. An estimate of expenses totalling almost $3 million was drawn up. During the same period, at the application of the head of the oblast administration, Shumeyko, the first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government, issued an instruction that a building in Monaco worth over 29 million French francs and belonging to the Russian state be handed over to VAMA. It was intended that this money should form the charter fund of the joint venture. Despite the fact that the joint venture did not really exist, Muravyev, the general director of VAMA, signed an agreement on 24 October 1992 which acknowledges that the foreign partner has spent money within the limits of the approved estimate and that the Russian property in Monaco was being transferred to the foreigners in compensation.

At the moment neither VAMA nor the Moscow Oblast administration have any documents revealing what happened to those buildings. On the basis of these facts, the special commission has instituted criminal proceedings with regard to this instance of exceptionally large-scale theft executed by way of cheating, and criminal neglect on the part of officials.

Investigation of details of setting up a certain information agency under the committee for preparing and implementing a military reform is being completed. In March 1992 the same VAMA, and the committee headed by Army General Kobets and a private company Investra Ltd set up an information agency, 90 percent of which belonged to the private company. In spite of this, in accordance with letters by Generals Kobets and Zaremba and head of Moscow Oblast administration Tyazhlov, the agency which in fact existed only on paper was provided with special communications, an office in central Moscow, weapons, and other special privileges available to state organizations. Expenses for the upkeep of the information agency were paid by the owner, the foreign private enterprise Investra Ltd. This included paying for transactions carried out by unrelated organizations and private individuals. In order to cover these expenses, the president of the state corporation Russia's Coal [Ugol Rossii] Vaidenberg, using his official position, transferred R20 million of state money to the account of the owner of Investra. He did this to the detriment of state interest. The money was returned to the state only after the law enforcement bodies interfered.

In all these cases the instructions to grant privileges were issued by First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federation Government Shumeyko. The material collected by the commission shows that he did this without studying the matter carefully, at the request of the people he knew. Arbitrary decisions and deviation from established rules on the part of Shumeyko have also been detected in other cases.

Thus, an investigation into the legality of his instruction of 14 January 1993 on settling a debt of US$9.4 million to the company Waldheim Electronic, Germany, with respect to supplies of goods on the project "Harvest-1990," has shown that Shumeyko violated the rules of preparing the government's resolution and instruction No 74 dated 28 January 1993. In accordance with this instruction, hard currency was to be withdrawn from an A-type account of the Russian Finance Ministry—this is an account for dealings with Hungary. However, at the time there was US $4.3 million on the account, which was earmarked for paying for medicines.

As regards instances of violation of law in the Western Group of Forces, cited by the vice president, already in 1992—that is before the report of the former Chief State Inspector Yuriy Boldyrev—the procuracy instituted and investigated several criminal cases on criminal malpractices, theft and bribe-taking on the part of some officials in the Group and the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense. Yesterday accusations were brought against General Karakozov, the former head of the chief directorate for trade under the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense, as well as some military in the leading posts—in particular, the first deputy commander of the 16th Air Army of the Western Group of Forces. In connection with the case of General Seliverstov, head of the DSM [expansion unknown] service of the Western Group of Forces General Semin will also be charged with corruption-related crimes in the next few days.

On the whole in the Western Group of Forces criminal proceedings have been instituted for 9 cases involving 12 officers, who have been charged with committing mercenary crimes using their official position—theft,

bribery, abuse of position, forgery. Investigation into these criminal cases studies instances of malpractice when transferring immovable property on the territory of the FRG to foreign companies and joint ventures, without any money being paid in compensation. Already now it can be said that operations involving sales and use of the property and immovables in the Western Group of Forces have not brought the expected results. The main reason for that is a lack of experience in commercial activity and sometimes gross abuses of position, which in the final analysis does not ensure any profit from handing over property, which could be used for the servicemen's needs. This also applies to the concern "Conversion-housing" [Konversiya-zhilye], set up on the instruction of the defense minister of the Soviet Union and the commander in chief of the ground forces. Five repair plants and a depot for technical equipment were transferred to it. Two joint ventures were formed on its basis have not brought any profit to the Western Group of Forces so far.

All this has been done in violation of the resolution of the council of ministers of the Soviet Union dated 29 October 1990 on measures for fulfilling the obligations of the Russian side ensuing from the agreement on some transitional measures for developing large-scale cooperation in economy, industry, science and technology with the FRG. This also violates the instruction of the Russian Federation president dated 6 January 1992 on the state commission under the Russian Federation president for economic issues relating to withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces from the FRG to the Russian territory. These documents stipulate that the money raised as a result of selling the property of the Western Group of Forces is earmarked for building housing and other socio-economic programs with a priority status, in the interest of the WGF servicemen returning to Russia from the FRG.

According to very approximate data, no less than 25,000 servicemen from the group which is to be withdrawn to Russia will be homeless. If servicemen from other groups of troops are added, the figure goes up to approximately 200,000. It is the Commission's view that the purchase of two Mercedes vehicles for the official requirements of Grachev, Russian minister of defense, using the resources allocated toward the construction of housing for the families of servicemen is, against this backdrop, an extremely immoral and illegal occurrence—the documents were fictitious and made out in the name of a warrant officer Pronin [laughter in the hall]. Documents in the same name were made out for a further 12 Mercedes vehicles and the investigation is in the process of establishing to whom they belong.

At the same time, the problem of ensuring housing for those servicemen from the Western Group of Forces who are to be withdrawn to Russia must be tackled through additional State assistance. Checks have established that the extremely weak system of currency controls is, indeed, one of the reasons why hard currency accruing from foreign economic activities fails to reach the Russian state budget. In this context it is noteworthy that the Russian Federation president's decree on establishing the republican hard currency reserve of Russia in 1992 and, partially, the establishment of the Russian Government's hard currency control inspectorate were not complied with in time, due to the weak executive discipline in the Government apparatus charged with monitoring the organization of the implementation of presidential decrees, and, in particular, on the part of Deputy Premier Shokhin, head of the hard currency and economic commission, Telyatnikov, in charge of the government's section for foreign economic relations and Aven, the former minister for foreign economic relations, who is also to blame.

Unfortunately, despite a direct instruction from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of Russia, dated 26 January 1993 to Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Government, to bring those guilty of this to book, they have remained unpunished. The Russian federal service for hard currency and export controls, due to have been headed by Krunya and to have been set up in accordance with the president's decree dated 30 September last year, has to this very day not been set up for the same reasons. Information on these facts is being prepared for the president of Russia. Materials on the legality or otherwise of extending preferential conditions for foreign economic activities to individual regions, enterprises, commercial structures, materials on missing hard currency and materials concerning other issues within the Commission's remit are currently being looked into and this work is due to be completed basically by 1 July 1993, but considerably later where certain materials are concerned. In all there are about 15 issues. It must be noted that the absence of professional inspection and auditing personnel and also the poor staffing of such services is making itself tangibly felt on the speed of our check-ups. Even at our level, it is an extraordinarily complex matter to appoint and organize an in-depth inspection and auditing exercise. Apart from the Ministry of Finance, Fedorov, deputy prime minister and minister of finance, is not tackling this task. Despite an instruction from Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Government, he has, in fact, distanced himself from this work. In view of this reason alone, it does not seem possible to arrive at a decision concerning a number of criminal cases within the Western Group of Forces, although the legal wheels are in motion concerning the materials on the inspections carried out into these cases. One would like to hope that this problem will be tackled with more success now that the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman has recently signed an instruction appointing, at our initiative, a group of highly qualified specialists invited by us to carry out inspections and special check-ups.

All in all, the need to establish an independent auditing and inspection service is long overdue. A service of this kind would, at the behest of the law and order protection bodies, carry out this work both in the center and in the

localities, a task that is of importance to put things right. Moreover, there is already a decision to this effect, dating back to the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. Our inquiries and instructions to the apparatus of the Government and certain ministries and departments, in particular—and I have already spoken of this—the control and auditing directorate of the Ministry of Finance, Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, and a number of other departments, are tackled with delays. The investigation work is being made considerably more complicated also by the absence of government agreements on legal assistance in combatting of crime between Russia and the West. As a result, they are not bound to let us have the necessary information, nor are they bound to hand criminals back to us and they put forward demands that can not be met. We think the need is long overdue for Russia to join some of the already existing accords of this kind, for instance the 3 November 1964 European agreement on legal assistance in crime prevention.

My report is nearly over. In the interests of the investigation concerning the criminal cases which have started the special commission regards it as necessary to propose to the Supreme Soviet of Russia that it puts to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of Russia, a question of the removal from their high state posts of Vladimir Shumeyko, the first deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, and Mikhail Poltoranin, chairman of the Federal Information Center, for activities that have harmed Russia. We also ask that the government is instructed to examine the issue concerning the state of utilization of Russia's raw material resources and to resolve the issue of the responsibility of all officials who have allowed abuses to take place, including the implementation of the Harvest-90 program. The criminal cases instituted by the special commission have now been handed over to the investigators from the General Procuracy of Russia so that legal proceedings and investigation may take place. Once work has been completed concerning the verification of other facts, the Supreme Soviet will be presented with a detailed report. Thank you for your attention.

'No Confidence' Vote in Shumeyko, Poltoranin

LD2406134593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1332 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—The Russian parliament adopted on Thursday [24 June] a decision by a roll-call on a report by Nikolay Makarov, head of a special commission set up by the procurator-general's office. The decision expresses no confidence in Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko and chairman of the Federal Information Centre Mikhail Poltoranin.

While debating Makarov's report, several legislators even proposed that the entire government should be sacked.

However, the proposal was not backed by speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov who proposed that lawmakers should adopt only a decision and wished that parliament should step up its watchdog functions, the weakening of which, according to the speaker, "led to all these facts".

At the same time, lawmaker Irina Zalevskaya asked: "How clean is our parliament?" and suggested that legislators should "see themselves in the mirror and count their incomes".

She noted that specific measures can be taken only after the end of the investigation and the court's judgement.

'Compromised' Individuals Urged To Leave Conference

LD2506124893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jun—Participation of the representative bodies in the Constitutional Conference's work will be impossible "as long as individuals who have compromised themselves remain among its number," according to a statement passed by the Russian Supreme Soviet today and addressed to the Russian Federation president and the participants in the Constitutional Conference. This refers to former and current officials involved in the corruption cases opened by the Russian Prosecutor's Office on the basis of facts set out by the Russian Vice President in an information report to the Supreme Soviet session of 16 April 1993.

The statement expresses the hope that the president and participants in the Constitutional Conference will take an understanding attitude toward the deputies, who would not like "the shadow of amorality, immorality and illegality" to fall upon the state's new Basic Law or upon the president's authority.

The statement was passed at the suggestion of Russian Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Vladimir Ispravnikov.

International Affairs

Chernomyrdin, Kuchma Sign Accords; Gas Prices Unresolved

LD2406185893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1655 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Kiev, 24 Jun—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has ended his brief visit to Ukraine by signing a package of intergovernmental agreements.

The Russian and Ukrainian prime ministers signed agreements on free trade, state credit for 1993, cooperation and mutual understanding in the sphere of customs services, and cooperation in development of Russian oil and gas industries.

Protocols were also signed on the question of preparations for a draft agreement on the fundamental principles of setting up multinational economic structures and on changing quotas for oil deliveries to Ukraine for 1993. In accordance with another protocol, the ministries and departments of the two countries are instructed to prepare an agreement on prices for nuclear fuel for Ukrainian nuclear power stations and prices for buying back and processing the used nuclear fuel from Ukraine.

Viktor Chernomyrdin reported at a news conference that the question of prices for Russian gas and its deliveries to Ukraine remains unsolved. A mechanism is needed for the smooth transition to world prices—to be introduced from 1 January next year, the Russian prime minister said. In his interview with a ITAR-TASS correspondent, Russian Federation Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik admitted that serious disagreements on the question of prices for gas still exist. In his opinion, a resolute decision by the presidents of Russia and Ukraine is needed in order to solve this problem.

Agreement on Aircraft Production

LD2406205293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1719 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Valentin Vernodubenko for TASS]

[Text] Kiev June 24 TASS—"We have agreed on the co-production of an AN-70 plane," Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma told journalists on Thursday [24 June] immediately after visiting the Oleg Antonov Aircraft Research and Development Complex (ANTK) together with his Russian counterpart Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The two premiers signed the joint document inside another new plane, the AN-218, on which Kiev aircraft designers are working.

"During the visit to ANTK, the prime ministers of Ukraine and Russia agreed to give greater scope to cooperation with Russian enterprises in the manufacture of new aircraft," ANTK Designer-General Petr Balabuyev told UKRINFORM.

"The AN-70 and engines for them will be manufactured both in Russia and Ukraine. This is the first agreement of its kind which Russia has signed in Ukraine. An arrangement was made to draft an agreement on the co-production of the AN-218 airbuses at the Ulyanovsk aircraft factory and in Ukraine." Balabuyev said.

Shokhin Notes Progress in Talks

LD2406205593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1721 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Kiev June 24 TASS—"Russo-Ukrainian intergovernmental talks are proceeding successfully," Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin said during an interval in the talks.

According to Shokhin, a number of documents, including an agreement on free trade, are ready for signing. A draft agreement has been prepared on Russia granting to Ukraine a state credit for a term of three years worth 250 billion roubles. A package of agreements was prepared on cooperation in the sphere of oil and gas and the exploitation of western Siberian deposits and the use of oil and gas pipelines.

According to Shokhin the most difficult problem is the problem of gas prices and tariffs for its transportation. Shokhin expressed the hope that the participation of the Russian and Ukrainian prime ministers in the talks can help reach a compromise. We proceed from the assumption that Russia will sell gas to close neighbours on universal terms - 42,000 roubles per 1,000 cubic meters. This scheme will be applied to Ukraine with a view of a gradual transition to world prices. If the agreement is signed, the programme of Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to Ukraine will be implemented practically in full," Shokhin said.

The Russian vice prime minister reported that as a result of the talks, a protocol on the use of the former Soviet property abroad would be signed. He emphasised that this problem would not be linked to the "zero" variant on former Soviet debts. A draft protocol provides for the transfer to Ukraine of part of the former Soviet buildings abroad to be used by Ukraine, but which will not be given into Ukrainian ownership. Ukraine will pay all the expenses for the upkeep of the buildings, while a concrete list of facilities will be discussed separately until the end of the year.

Shokhin believes that Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit should be a success." But the agreement is only part of the way, and much should be done for its implementation," Shokhin said. "The problem of gas prices is not yet a problem of payments," he added.

Kravchuk Discusses Black Sea Fleet, Nuclear Weapons

WS2506090093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 22 Jun 93 pp 3, 5

[Excerpts from news conference by President Leonid Kravchuk with unidentified reporters on 18 June; place not given—compiled by Volodymyr Skachko]

[Text] [Kravchuk] I hope that we will discuss a wide range of pressing issues on the political and socioeconomic life in Ukraine. However, negotiations with Russia are the issue of the day. This is why I want to say a couple of words about them and then, while answering your questions, we will express our attitude toward other problems, especially as negotiations with the Russian president, aside from the key problems of the Black Sea Fleet, touched upon other issues as well. We also discussed normalizing Ukrainian- Russian economic relations and problems of nuclear missiles. We have signed an agreement on urgent measures on forming the Ukrainian and the Russian Navies on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet and issued an appropriate communique. The agreement on the Black Sea Fleet contains provisions that stipulate the principles of the fleet's division and principles of the Russian Navy's deployment in Ukraine in the transitional period. The division is to be made on the 50-50 basis. Financing the fleet will be carried out on the same 50-50 basis. Single norms and types of allowances for the personnel have been drafted because this is a very acute problem today. The Russian side will participate in the development of the socioeconomic sector of Sevastopol and other places the Russian Navy is deployed. An interstate committee is being created for the solution of practical aspects of the fleet's division. Due to the importance of the agreement and to the fact that it embraces a broad spectrum of political and legal problems, it must be ratified by the two legislatures.

Aside from this, we have reached agreements on a number of other issues. First, we must accelerate preparation for signing a full-scale political treaty between Ukraine and Russia. We have underlined that all the provisions of the treaty signed in Kiev in 1990 must find their reflection in the new treaty. In addition, the new treaty will expand the framework of political, economic, legal, and international issues.

Second, we have decided to draft an agreement on dividing the shares of some Ukrainian and Russian enterprises. For example, we have been discussing Ukraine sharing the costs of running enterprises in Russian areas rich in oil and natural gas. Russia is interested in sharing the costs of some oil refineries and other enterprises. This will be done on the basis of precisely defined international principles and laws adopted by Russia and Ukraine. This means that under any circumstances, the control of shares will remain in the state on whose territory the enterprise is located.

We have also decided to sign an agreement on free trade and the creation of joint stock enterprises. By the way, Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin will visit Ukraine on 24 June in order to sign this and other agreements. We have also reached an agreement on a gradual transition to world prices for oil and gas for Ukraine by 1 January 1994 with a parallel transition to world prices for Russian oil and gas transit via Ukrainian territory. This has always been a very tough problem, but we have agreed to introduce world prices for transit. We have also agreed on Russia granting Ukraine loans on internationally accepted terms.

We have regulated the issue of the former USSR's debts and assets on the basis of the zero variant suggested by us at the beginning. Attached will be a list of buildings for Ukrainian embassies in the states in which Ukraine badly needs them. Russia has confirmed its readiness to grant Ukraine security before the latter signs the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT]. In general, we have agreed on the necessity to specify international norms with regard to the volume of compensations to be received by Ukraine for the nuclear substances extracted from the warheads of our nuclear weapons that have already been removed and that will be removed from our territory if the treaty is ratified by the Ukrainian Supreme Council. I repeat, everything has been solved on the basis of world prices and the existing world norms. Before, we could not reach an agreement on the maintenance of those components of nuclear missile systems that have been produced by Russian enterprises. We have agreed on this issue this time. Taking into account the complexity of problems under discussion, their acuteness and scale, I can say that we have solved them constructively, proceeding from existing alternatives and the current situation, not from mere wishes.

[Reporter] **I have a question regarding the political treaty that you have mentioned. From your point of view, what provisions can be included in the new treaty aside from those existing in the acting treaty?**

[Kravchuk] These can be the issues not included in the old treaty. Over the period of time that has elapsed since the treaty was signed, we have adopted a whole number of documents, for example those on non-visa procedures for crossing borders. Today, we are discussing the issue of dual citizenship and a wide range of other issues, for example, that of granting rights and freedoms to national minorities because this is a sensitive area for both Russia and Ukraine. The new treaty must precisely determine all the issues with regard to rights and freedoms of national minorities. To be more precise—rights of Russians living in Ukraine and Ukrainians living in Russia. We must also resolve the problem of territorial integrity and the absence of any territorial claims on the part of the two states.

[Reporter] **I would like to ask a question on the emergency economic committee. Are you going to address the legislature with a request to grant this committee emergency powers? Are you going to do this by your decree? What are these powers? Has the committee held its sessions?**

[Kravchuk] I want to comment in a little more detail on the essence of the edict. If we attempted to divide the problems that exist in the society, we would distinguish two groups of problems. These are socioeconomic problems and fighting crime. These are the problems that are worrying the people most of all. I made an attempt to merge these problems and work out a practical approach toward them. You already know about one edict. Today, I will sign another edict which will charge the government and Prime Minister Kuchma with the solution of socioeconomic issues in emergency situations, which means when there is a need to quickly resolve the pressing issues existing in this field. There is no need to grant powers that are outside of the president's and the government's spheres. I do not want to turn to the Supreme Council with a request to grant me any additional powers. I think that everyone has to be responsible for his own business, while the Supreme Council must adopt all the necessary legal acts.

[Reporter] **The decision to hold a referendum did not stop strikes. The strikers are demanding early elections and regional self-rule. Will you insist that these demands be met?**

[Kravchuk] I have submitted this proposal for the Supreme Council's consideration. The Supreme Council has a constitutional right to order early elections. I have suggested holding elections and a referendum on the termination of presidential powers. Everything would happen within the framework of the Constitution. We could even change the Constitution in order to grant the Supreme Council a right to terminate presidential powers at its own initiative. Then, we would have to introduce an amendment: if the people vote for confidence in the president, he will have a right to dissolve the legislature. This is the normal procedure all over the world. We found it difficult to find a constructive solution this time, and the Supreme Council compromised. In my opinion, the Supreme Council's decision is a kind of compromise.

With regard to the strikers, you know that I am an advocate of solving all the disputes in the course of working, especially because the state is already anemic, believe me. During our visit to Moscow, the strikes were hanging over us; we were politically exhausted. However, I want to stress this once again, Russia took no advantage of this and put forward no issues and proposals aside from those already drafted in Dagomys and Yalta. This is true.

[Reporter] **Suppose the referendum takes place on 26 September and is unfavorable for you. Will you resign**

[Kravchuk] If my personal resignation is the point, I can do this tomorrow without any referendums. I do not need a referendum or an opinion poll to do this. The Supreme Council has a constitutional right to make the president resign. The Constitution says that if the president violates the Constitution or laws, he can be impeached by the Supreme Council on the basis of the Constitutional Court's decision. The Supreme Council needs two-thirds of the votes to be able to do this. But the current situation is different. I repeat, this can happen in the event of a violation of the Constitution and laws and when there is the Supreme Court's motion. We do not even have a constitutional court yet.

[Reporter] **Does the referendum on confidence in the Supreme Council and the president mean that ratification of the START I and the NPT will be postponed until at least a year from now? What will you do in this case?**

[Kravchuk] I see no reason why it should be postponed. I do not think that the deputies and the president are so weak that they will stop their activity just because a referendum has been agreed to and that they will even have no strength to push the voting button. I think that everyone has to carry the burden of his political and other commitments to the nation until his powers expire. Probably one must be even more responsible over this period. I do not want you to have an impression that just because the referendum is hanging over us the administrative, state, and legislative activity in the country will be frozen. This would be impossible and I cannot believe this. In my opinion, quite on the contrary, the responsibility and activity of all the administrative structures will be enhanced, because everyone will try to demonstrate that he is capable of doing something.

[Reporter] **Two events have occurred: there has been a decision by Donetsk Oblast Soviet to carry out an economic legal experiment in Donetsko-Kryvorizkyy coal field and a decision by the Crimean Supreme Council on introducing an open economy, which stipulates independent tax, custom, and financial policies. Do you not think that political independence or at least claims for political independence may follow economic independence?**

[Kravchuk] I am an advocate of economic independence of regions in the broad sense. We have gathered in this hall before and discussed cooperation of four oblasts and their political and economic structures in overcoming the crisis. I have said that I have been supporting all the economic claims that call for wider independence of regions. I see no point of fearing the Crimean Supreme Soviet's decisions, because Crimea is an autonomous republic within Ukraine. Thus its Supreme Soviet can adopt appropriate resolutions within the framework of the Constitutions of both Ukraine and the Crimea. The decision adopted by Donetsk Soviet must be analyzed. However, if they are seeking economic independence stipulated by the law, why not grant it? Why should all the issues be resolved in Kiev, while this can be done in Donetsk itself?

One scheme exists during the transition to a market economy: produce, sell, and earn. If our people want to earn more, we should let them sell more, and the state budget will receive more payments. I am a supporter of introducing this scheme not only in Donetsk but also in other regions, including Transcarpathia and other regions where there is a need for this.

[Reporter] **Your representatives in the Crimea and in southeastern oblasts have not been caring much about strengthening Ukraine, to put it mildly. When will you finally take steps to make these people act like statesmen?**

[Kravchuk] Every wish becomes real when it is based on real force. This means that if there are forces in an oblast, a rayon, or a town that are acting resolutely for statehood, then a presidential representative has someone to rely on. In this case, if this person does not want to strengthen statehood, his position becomes known to everyone. The radicals must understand: this is not a question of lack of will or strong character. We must be governed by wisdom. I want to emphasize that I never take any steps, no matter who demands this from me, if I know that this will lead to a confrontation. I will not do anything if I know that this will lead to confrontation between Russia and Ukraine. Because this will mean the end of Ukrainian statehood.

[Reporter] **Do you agree with the concept that (I am quoting the declaration by 162 deputies) "without confirmation of Ukraine being an owner of nuclear arms deployed on its territory, the Supreme Council cannot start final discussion of the START I?" Are not nuclear arms the best guarantee of our security?**

[Kravchuk] Of course, the bigger the club the harder it strikes. However, there is another thing—only a very strong man can lift a big club. This is why I kept saying and I will keep saying that nuclear arms, especially 130 liquid-propellant missiles, must be eliminated. There exist a whole number of problems. First, Ukraine's ability to maintain nuclear arms. This is why we are turning to Russia with requests to help us maintain the components of nuclear missile systems produced by Russian enterprises. They built the 130 rockets and their components in Arzamas, and this is the key—we cannot maintain them. Thus, we must eliminate the missiles and ratify the treaty. I am an advocate of the concept that nuclear arms are not a guarantee of mankind's safety. They are not. The sooner mankind understands that these weapons must be eliminated in all the countries of the world, the more it will gain on this.

[Reporter] **A large group of deputies spoke in favor of ratifying START I and refraining from ratifying the NPT. What is your point of view on this problem? Have you not changed your mind in the course of the discussion of these documents by the legislature, and what is your point of view regarding 46 SS-24 missiles deployed on our territory?**

[Kravchuk] I have not changed my mind. I have passed a package of documents to the Supreme Council. By the way, the government has also passed a written address to the Supreme Council with regard to this issue suggesting that the two treaties be adopted as a package. There may be provisos, there may be corrections of time, but I am advocating the adoption of these documents as a package. Thus, the stances of the president, the government, and the Foreign Ministry on this issue are identical. With regard to speeches at the Supreme Council, both the speeches and written proposals based on in-depth analysis may not always coincide. There may be meditations and doubts. I do not see any problems, the more so that there are grounds for both meditations and doubts. I would not like to repeat promises given to Ukraine regarding security guarantees and elimination, before the commitments to Ukraine are carried out. Let us take this problem: we have no money in our treasury and this is no secret. How are we supposed to eliminate nuclear bombs?

There is another problem—the elimination of a nuclear silo means the elimination of three components: the warhead, the carrier, and the silo itself. According to START I, the silos are to be blown up, while according to START II, they are to be filled with a five-meter thick layer of concrete. Blowing silos up does not suit Ukraine, because they are located in densely populated areas. Thus, we must transfer the START II clause on silos into the START I. These are purely organizational, technical, economic, and financial problems.

[Reporter] **Do you agree with claims by miners and the opposition that the current crisis in the state has been caused not only by the bankrupt Supreme Council but also by your reactionary policy, your resistance to reforms, and your reliance on neocommunist apparatchiks? Are we not losing a part of our territorial sovereignty if a Russian fleet is deployed on our territory? If not, why does Ukraine not raise the issue of dividing on-shore facilities in say, Novorossiysk?**

[Kravchuk] Miners have their views and they have a right to this. I do not want to launch discussions with strikers , because this should not be done. They are declaring their stance and we are to take this stance into account. Both I and the Supreme Council have our share of responsibility for lack of progress in reforms. Let us take the law on privatization of land. It has not been adopted. Can we carry out reforms when this basic issue remains unresolved? Resistance to reforms is continuing. Let us not talk about the Supreme Council. It has happened that the image of the Supreme Council has been determined by deputies of the extreme right and left who are hampering the Supreme Council's activity. They always create situations that deputies cannot analyze. It was like this (I have good contacts with deputies and the Supreme Council, I began my work there) and we have come to this again. Unfortunately, these deputies are calling the tune now, and those willing to work cannot concentrate and do business—adopt laws for the people. I can see my faults, too—I have not done everything that I could have done in order to make the reforms work. However, now, when I have been given back the powers, I have started to work more resolutely. I am afraid again that the right and left oppositions can block my activity by means of their conclusions and attempts to plant doubts with regard to the importance of my recent moves. I think that I have said at the

Supreme Council that the Supreme Council, the president, and the government were formed in the transitional period. We must find courage to say this and either start acting more resolutely and prove that we have entered a qualitatively new stage or, if we lack resoluteness, resign. This is an honest stance toward the nation. It is on this that I stand.

With regard to the issue of territorial integrity: First of all, nobody has transferred either Ukrainian territory or bases to anyone. We have reached an agreement on joint usage of these bases. We cannot compare the Pacific Fleet to the Black Sea Fleet. We must regard the history of the former Soviet Union, the history of the Crimea, and the history of Ukraine, bind them together and, I am sure that we will resolve this problem in such a way that each state will have its armed forces, its navy, and all other things. However, today, when you are strong and I am not, when I want and you do not, what can I do? Shall I run around you and threaten to beat you? I would like us all to understand this and take no shortsighted steps. I can say with full responsibility that we used to lose our statehood or could not win our statehood due to two reasons: we either did not take into account our real potential or we failed to group up in crucial situations. The current events in Ukraine are a vivid example of this. Even democrats—forgive my term, I call them democrats with reservation—have split into groups already. I am afraid that they will soon start to fight in such a way that we will all have a headache.

National Affairs

Kuchma Addresses Parliament on Economic Policy

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[Address by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma to the afternoon session of the Ukrainian Supreme Council in Kiev—live]

[Text] Esteemed deputies, esteemed Ivan Stepanovych [Plyushch]! For the umpteenth time during the months of my premiership I have come to be convinced that the power over oneself is the hardest power of all. We all had been long preparing for 21 May as the last day of the government's special powers, and yet we managed to restrain each other's temper and survived, as a result of this, a whole month of a political crisis—which stimulated the outbreak of the strike, and all of this happened against the background of an irreversible price rise and a deep economic and energy crisis.

It may not be accidental that our political strains lead to a chain reaction of strikes, breakdowns in oil supplies, and stoppages of industrial giants. Believe me, nobody will find it easy to be at the steering wheel of our economy, the wheel that they are trying to turn either to the left or to the right all the time. So instead of moving ahead, we hardly have the time to press on the brakes to avoid skidding to the roadside.

Here is what I wish to say in this connection. I am convinced that in today's situation neither the president, nor the chairman of the Supreme Council, nor the prime minister, nor the majority of you are holding on to their seats. But somebody must deal with urgent state affairs on which the fate of Ukraine really depends today, save production, and build a viable state system. If we don't stop the strike and the political squabbles together, I repeat, together, then we will probably not reap the harvest and will indeed bring the nation to ruin, as some are predicting.

Today we have satisfied practically most of the strikers' sensible demands. But the government has no right to destroy the economy completely for the sake of a mere pay rise and other similar, purely populist demands. The strike movement and trade union leaders must realize the futility of extrapolating the classical methods of struggle by those in hired labor to our conditions. In the West, one can redistribute the profit to the strikers' advantage by means of a strike because there is profit over there. In our case, when most of the state enterprises are bankrupt, and, in addition, the coal industry, too; and the state is practically bankrupt too—the strike becomes a means of self- destruction.

What can the state offer to the strikers? Just its debts, maybe. I think that the parliament realizes that after the new elections, whenever they are held, new people's deputies will come and accuse you and me of populism, of running up debts that are impossible to pay back. Look, the bottom pay level that the trade unions demand will amount to an additional 61 trillion karbovantsi a year. This equals the entire gross national product. Demands of bank savings indexation cost another 9.4 trillion [karbovantsi]. After this there is only one thing left to say, like in church, amen.

At the same time events show that a mechanism of constant interaction needs to be set up between the Cabinet of Ministers and the miners. First, to get to know the state of affairs and the needs in the mining regions. Second, to keep the miners informed about the state of affairs in the state and to explain [to them] state policy tasks. I think that such strong ties would remove many mutual recriminations and ungrounded demands, as well as limit sharply the possibility of manipulating miners or other strikers. I think that the interaction of the government and other state institutions with representative associations is needed, not only with the miners but other social groups, on whose interests today some or another politicians are sometimes endeavoring to capitalize, in particular with agrarians, (?ore-miners), entrepreneurs, and those employed in education, health care, science, etc.

For all my negative attitude to the strike as a destructive action, which cannot give anything in principle to people apart from poverty, for all of my want of respect for

those who have launched people in this senseless action, I still evaluate this strike as a push toward resolving long-standing urgent issues that have long stood before society but were not resolved, in particular the financial and credit sphere, against which there are many complaints.

At present I am awaiting in dismay, and Yukhym Danylovych [Zvyahilskyy] also said today, that when specialists calculate all of the losses from the suspension of production, (?the destroyed lines) of flooded mines, and the metallurgical industry undermined by the strike, you cannot enumerate all of this, but I am certain that there will be losses of approximately a trillion [karbovantsi]. This is also the price of those political games that we have been playing for a month already. The essentially ideological confrontation does not provide the possibility to rely on a firm, intelligible economic concept. As a practical person I know that a flawed theory in rocket construction, for example, leads to the rocket's explosion. A flawed economic theory will lead to the economy's explosion. Who said that one can use monetary policy in areas were there is only a market for products, where there is no capital market. Is is not the case that our extreme interest rates and permanent shortages of circulating capital are precisely a result of the fact that we do not have any capital in the markets: land, buildings, and means of production. Until we give some status to the goods and everything in our country: mineral deposits, land, buildings, means of production, and even human capabilities, no monetary policy will achieve the expected results.

We can already see this. We adopt a truly monetary decision and ruin the economy. By bravely and blindly following the developed countries of the West, we are forcing our economy to give birth to some progenies in the absence of pregnancy. We put pressure on people, do not even give them an approximate direction and do not involve them in understanding the new values. This is why there is a rejection of the necessary and unstoppable economic steps. In this difficult time our propaganda in all of the mass media is directed at the lumpenization of society at the impending misery and not at the propaganda of getting out of the crisis. The world has not yet found anything else for its self-enjoyment other than the market, but the world has not discovered the only true path to the market.

Every country has chosen its own path to the market. It is another matter whether it is successful or not. But we are trying to push ourselves to the market with our bare hands and without the necessary implements. It is possible to cook a tasty borscht, even when you have all the necessary ingredients, but I personally do not understand how one can have a comfortable life in the country in market conditions without having created the necessary market infrastructure. Esteemed colleagues, finally look carefully! Our economy has a large number of ineffective and loss making enterprises that continuously require cash and non-cash emissions. The crisis in the economy is progressing. The volume of production is decreasing, however, loss-making and useless state enterprises continue to work. The number of workers there remains unchanged or is even increasing. At every moment this gives rise to hidden unemployment. Inflation and hidden unemployment leads to the distribution of the economic burden between those workers who work efficiently and those who just go to work. As a result of this the wage which, as a right, belongs to one worker is in reality divided between two, three or even five. Can a worker in these conditions live on his wage? I must admit honestly that he cannot. No, if one is to rely only on the state, i.e., on you and me. But to our good fortune the Ukrainian people never particularly depended on its leaders but always worked with sweated brows in order to make an extra amount for a rainy day.

It must be noted that private plots, subsidiary family plots, trips abroad for seasonal work and diverse crafts—all these are the people's means of survival. So today when the state cannot guarantee the minimum or even the average wage at the level of civilized demands, we should in every way encourage similar activity by the people and should under no circumstances hinder it by administrative bans in an absurd way.

I would like to stress one more case. In conditions when the state cannot guarantee the necessary standard of living for citizens, it is unprincipled to maintain the inflated and inflexible state apparatus. The building of a single vertical in the executive power, the necessity of which I have announced more than once from this podium, will first raise the state leadership's effectiveness and second, will enable the reduction of superfluous branches of the management apparatus. I consider it possible to reduce the number of workers in the state power bodies. In connection with the speech by Oleksandr Moroz on economic issues I would also like to express my personal view on what must immediately be done, although I never intended to do this today.

The first thing, I think, is that it is necessary for us to get a decision urgently adopted at the Supreme Council on renewing a profit and value added tax of 20 percent. A liberal taxation policy gives us much more revenue for the budget and saves production. It is necessary for us to urgently review the whole of our taxation system at the Supreme Council again.

Second, it is necessary to consolidate accords with Russia on a moratorium on suddenly raising prices for energy-carriers—and equivalent to these prices—to gradually introduce world prices for the transit of cargoes across Ukraine. It would be even better to adopt a political decision with Russia on a moratorium for a year to one and a half years on prices of energy-carriers, I emphasize, to find a political solution.

It is necessary to privatize—this is my opinion Oleksandr—medium and large state enterprises, and to urgently distribute shares to the population; to sell competitively the 1432 unfinished industrial construction facilities. Let us, at least in this case, give these

facilities to the owners together with the land, so people can take foreign credits, build plants, hotels, and an infrastructure. Because if before our people [word indistinct] although before the ratio of unfinished facilities to total industrial construction was up to 60 percent, it is now 90 percent. And how many unfinished facilities are the fault of the local councils? We cannot carry on being the dog in a manger.

It is necessary to carry out forced small and medium privatization, to competitively sell bankrupt enterprises that are not subordinate to the nation, to implement the unlicensed export of finished products with tough currency control and protectionism, and the protectionist policy of defending Ukrainian goods producers. The key issue in the competence of industry is its provision with energy supplies. In conditions of a tough shortage of energy supplies the government should envisage the calculation and introduction of norms for energy consumption, the determining of a list of enterprises for priority energy provision, and the introduction of government supervision over effective utilization of all types of energy supplies in all branches of the national economy. In addition, the government should envisage that foreign credits for purchasing oil and gas should be acquired urgently, that strict control be introduced over hard currency revenue from the foreign economic activity of enterprises with the aim of first and foremost utilizing it for purchasing oil and gas, and that foreign investments for the introduction of energy- preserving technologies be attracted as a priority and preferentially.

It is necessary for Ukraine's government to stimulate economically the enterprises of producers of products that are predominantly exported to Russia under conditions of payment for the value of energy consumption by Russian entrepreneurs and customers; to attract as extensively as possible to Ukraine oil as a (?plentiful) raw material; to economically stimulate small energy consumers to utilize these fuel resources; and to further conduct and complete talks on producing liquid fuel from coal while attracting foreign technologies.

Regarding ensuring the survival of goods producers, one ought to envisage that a mechanism for supplementing the working funds of enterprises be set up by the end of July; that enterprises be given the right to transfer taxes for each 10-day period to the budget in unequal portions, but by their own judgment without changing the summary monthly volume; one ought to remove part of the profit tax from enterprises while the production of highly costly and highly liquid export products is being mastered, which is envisaged in state programs; to elaborate and introduce stimulating amortization mechanisms; to economically stimulate enterprises to get rid of excessive equipment, unfinished facilities, and other basic funds; and to introduce clearing accounts between enterprises, which are serviced in one bank, with the subsequent extension of this principle to the interbank level.

One ought to, by the power of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to help enterprises in searching for foreign markets for products; to facilitate the attraction of foreign marketing and dealers' firms; to set up by the end of July investment agencies; with the aim of regulating mutual relations between the government and enterprises and improving the provision of resources of enterprises to set up, by 1 September, a state contractual company with a network of various goods exchanges; to ensure that in the course of July positive incentive coefficients be introduced for increasing the fund for the payment of labor of enterprises, which increase the natural volume of the sale of their products; to provide the harvest gathering in 1993 with fuel and lubricants, spare parts and financial resources; and to determine a concept of Ukrainian agrarian reform, envisaging the introduction of a unified tax for land, a unified one.

What are we to do to save the finances and introduce the hryvnya? To view money emission acceptable only when aimed at financing the structural reshaping of production and providing for the non-stop functioning of vitally important manufacturers and enterprises.

To establish that the National Bank of Ukraine implements the monetary and credit policy in the framework of the resources available in the banking system. Credit deposit growth at the National Bank must be in accordance with the decisions by Ukraine's government. Law-binding acts of Ukraine's National Bank must take effect after they have been agreed with the government of Ukraine.

Ukraine's Ministry of Finance must approve before 1 July 1993 Ukraine's National Bank estimate for the second half of 1993, with a view to channeling the National Bank profit to the state budget of Ukraine.

The National Bank of Ukraine must stop granting centralized credits at rates lower than the officially established repayment rate; review the repayment rate monthly, gradually bringing it closer to the inflation rate; immediately stop the purchase of foreign currency at the expense of the bank's own funds, until the stabilization of the national currency unit exchange rate.

Penalties must be immediately introduced against commercial banks conducting unsecured credit emission three times the amount of the National Bank repayment rate. Interest rates must be immediately set up on fixed-term and deposit accounts of the population at Ukraine's Savings Bank at the level no less than the National Bank repayment rate. In the sphere of credit operations, the savings bank must be allowed to provide credits to physical persons only. The savings bank must be forbidden to grant interbank credits and credit those involved in entrepreneurial activity. It must be established that all savings bank credit resources are subject to purchase by the National Bank.

The National Bank and the Ministry of Finance of Ukraine must change the procedure of budget fulfillment in cash terms as of 1 July 1993, excluding the possibility of automatic crediting of the budget.

With the aim of alleviating the payment crisis one ought to introduce from 1 July the circulation of promissory notes into the national economy, including the partial guaranteeing (?by) the government of promissory notes of certain state enterprises. The Ministry of Finance of Ukraine is to elaborate by 1 September the procedure for distributing bonds of Ukraine's state domestic debt; envisage ensuring the funds of the population and subjects of entrepreneurial activity, the invested bonds of the state domestic debt [words indistinct] by fixing the equivalent of funds invested in foreign currency according to the official exchange rate of the National Bank at the moment of acquiring the bonds; to establish the possibility of repaying the bonds of the domestic state debt partially from state property which is being privatized; to allow local bodies of power, with the consent of local councils, to get credits at bank institutions by mortgaging communal property; to envisage the material drawing up of these credits, and the informing of the public about credit agreements, which have been made.

The Ministry of Finance is to elaborate and confirm by 1 September the procedure for issuing bonds of municipal [words indistinct]; to implement measures regarding the liberalization of the hard currency market of Ukraine; to allow Ukrainian stock exchanges to renew the holding of hard currency auctions; to establish that trading is suspended in the event of a deviation of the exchange rate of the national currency from the official exchange rate of the National Bank by more than 10 percent in the direction of lowering the exchange rate of Ukraine's national currency; in the event that the exchange rate of Ukraine's national currency increases, trading is conducted without limitations.

To allow Ukraine's citizens, foreign citizens, and persons without citizenship to open currency accounts payable to bearer at Ukraine's banks at the wish of the depositor, envisaging a full amnesty [words indistinct] funds in Ukraine's banks.

Undoubtedly the central task of the government in the current crisis conditions is social protection. What should we do urgently? Set up reserves of energy supplies and food for the autumn-winter period. Introduce as of 1 September a preferential card system by means of issuing to the poor sections of the population special financial documents for acquiring essential goods with a 50 percent discount at the expense of the budget. Set up special concessionary public feeding points. This is already being done in many oblasts. Ensure employment for temporarily unemployed citizens via a national employment system and retraining of personnel. Set up a national system of social protection for servicemen.

I call on you, esteemed people's deputies, to define your stance on these issues. Thank-you for your attention. [applause]

Promises To Meet Some of Miners' Demands

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[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Text] Kiev, 23 Jun—Leonid Kuchma said today at a sitting of the Cabinet of Ministers that we have done everything we could for the miners. The sitting discussed draft government resolutions related to the strikers' demands and directed at stabilizing the situation in the country's industrial regions. The main demands of the strikers have been satisfied. A positive decision has been taken regarding reduction of the taxation rate of the income of the miners involved in the work underground in the coal and mining industry and reduction of tax for families with many children. Amendments have been introduced to the rules of regulating the consumption funds of enterprises, establishments, and organizations in 1993 which will improve the economic situation of their collectives. New rules of compensation have been introduced for those workers whose health was affected while in service. The tariff rates for workers of the first grade have been doubled in comparison with the minimum wage. Mines and mining associations have been allowed this year to export coal above the quotas provided the exported volume does not exceed 10 percent of this year's actual output.

Among the issues on which the government has already taken a constructive decision or is preparing one there is provision of the coal industry with food, fuel and timber; a draft law on holidays; use of the so-called Chernobyl means for resettlement of residents from affected regions as soon as possible; improvement of the ecological situation in the industrial oblasts; making the miners' dinners cheaper as well as a ban on participation of employees of the Cabinet of Ministers and law-enforcement bodies in commercial enterprises. However, the government had to say no on some issues. This concerns indexation of the working capital of enterprises that would cost around 15,000 billion karbovantsy: indexation of savings which would cost 9,000 billion coupons. Naturally the state does not have such money. The idea of temporary disability payments of 100 percent [presumably of wages], subsidies on energy resources, increase of the pension fund, scrapping the regulating of the consumption fund and fixing wages at the level of the minimum consumer budget have not been supported for the same reason.

In the opinion of the government all this will only lead to a new spiral of inflation. Already now the budget deficit is 11 trillion karbovantsy. Kuchma noted that today one will not find even paper notes in the public coffers to cover all expenditure. The demands to review the previous decrees of the government and to pay for the days of the strike have also been turned down as contradicting the current legislation.

The decisions have been taken but life changes every day and introduces its corrections. Therefore, Kuchma said,

a large group of scientists and practical workers, involved by the Cabinet of Ministers, work today on analysis of the decrees, the demands of the strikers and the current and future policies of the government. He expressed hope that their work will clarify the disputed issues. Today, as was noted at the sitting, each karbovanets issued by the National Bank depreciates the previous one by a quarter. The whole ideology of dividing the state budget at the first request should be changed immediately. It is inadmissible to spend the profit of the enterprise on wages: it is needed badly on development of production. One should not bring the state to ruin but learn to work for it. Otherwise, according to Kuchma, a change of guard may take place not just on the squares. The Cabinet of Ministers adopted today a draft resolution on limitation of trade and supply-sales additional charges increase of a price. The document envisages establishment of their limit level for the ultimate consumer at the size of 50 percent on top of the producer's price or the customs value of imported goods regardless of the number of its resales. At the same time costs of transport, insurance, commercial risk and payment for short-term credits are added onto the price of a Ukrainian producer. A similar system is in operation regarding sales of imported goods. Costs of transport, import duty, and other costs are added onto their customs value. This procedure does not apply to exported goods and the goods sold for foreign currency.

The resolution envisages that the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Crimea, oblast, Kiev, and Sevastopol city state administrations can regulate the size of surcharges within the limits on produce and goods for the population, i.e., where possible they should be considerably reduced on first necessity goods specified in a special list. This list includes goats, pasta, meat and meat products, cooking animal fats, boiled sausages, sausages and saveloys, oil, margarine, milk, kefir, skimmed cottage cheese, salt, and matches.

Strikes Continue in Western Donbass Mines

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[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Kravchenko]

[Text] Pavlograd, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, 24 Jun— An extraordinary session of the Pavlograd town council proceeded today to the noise of a rally of many thousands on the central square. Of 11 mines of the Western Donbass, seven are on strike. The miners are opposed to the decision of the Donetsk interbranch council of striking collectives to end the strike. The Western Donbass miners, having advanced their 15 regional demands, are not satisfied with the government's reaction. The strikers consider that the fundamentally important claims, both political and economic, have so far not been resolved. In particular these are the immediate dismissal of the Supreme Council, an increase in wages and a lowering of taxes, not only for the representatives of the underground profession, but for other categories, indexation of monetary deposits, and raising the monetary living minimum to 50,000 karbovantsi. Their own local demands have been added to these—the immediate dismissal of Viktor Romanyuk, chairman of the town council, and the disbandment of the deputies' corps. The mayor was forced to tender his resignation under pressure from the strikers. However, there was an insufficient quorum of deputies at yesterday's session to legalize this decision. It is planned to do this today. For the moment the monetary imbalance in the 'Pavlograd Coal' association—the difference between what customers owe the miners and what the miners themselves owe—has already reached 7 billion karbovantsi. They have to pay 3 billion as interest for banking credits. A section of the strikers, taking into account the economic difficulties, is proposing to suspend the strike while not withdrawing the demands, but the majority intend to continue. endall) 241347

Donbass Withdraws Demand for Self-Government

LD2406204293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2016 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Marina Tarnavskaya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev June 24 TASS—Three hundred and seventy-six delegates to the first inter-regional conference of enterprises of striking towns have decided to withdraw a demand for regional self-government or autonomy of Donbass or Donetsk region in any form because that would lead to a split of Ukraine, Konstantin Fesenko, chairman of the republican Council of the Ukrainian Coal Industry Workers Union, reported to the Federation of the Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine from Makeyevka.

Official Denies Oblast Seeks To Secede

LD2406122493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Vadym Chuprun, chairman of the Donetsk oblast council of people's deputies, has rebutted accusations against oblast council deputies of separatist sentiments and desires to have Donbass secede from Ukraine. The statement distributed in this connection says, in particular, that certain political circles and mass media continue to make similar allegations. In this connection, Vadym Chuprun and members of the oblast council collegium declared on behalf of the deputies corps their firm position on the indivisibility of Ukraine.

Kuchma, Enterprise Directors Seen Benefiting From Crisis

MK2406104693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report: "President Gives In to Parliament Once Again. Prime Minister Fulfills Strikers' Demands"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At a 22 June plenary meeting of parliament, a group of deputies demanded that Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma make it clear whether he will be staying on or resigning. Parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch said that during his personal meeting with the president and the prime minister the latter said he would go on working and did not say anything about his resignation in the past few days. The deputies, however, voted to hear on 23 June a report by the government on priority anticrisis steps.

The one who feels most comfortable in this situation is the prime minister. His are the most solid positions because it is precisely the economic model Leonid Kuchma has always advocated that seems to be gaining the upper hand in the post-strike settlement. Domestically, it means the retention of a formidable state sector and market transformations under government supervision. The majority of enterprise directors also stand to benefit from this plan, because the incumbent government agreed to lease state enterprises with the right to buy, which makes it possible for the directors to enter the marketplace not as hired, albeit highly paid, managers, but as capitalist owners. This is why it may be possible that a significant part of the director corps was behind the miners' strike. In any event, the miners were "paid off" really lavishly—at the 21 June meeting of the Council of Ministers virtually all of their 38 economic demands were fulfilled. Furthermore, the government promised to give at its meeting a positive response to the demands that have yet to be fulfilled. The main steps taken by the cabinet to please the miners include permission to dispose more freely of their basic consumption funds and to raise wages and salaries, and also tax breaks for all those working underground (and not miners alone). Coal subsidies will continue until the end of the year and the mines will retain the right to dispose of 10 percent of the coal actually produced at their own discretion. In addition, rumors have circulated for the past few days that Valentin Landik, director of Donetsk-based Nord plant and leader of one of "the directors'" parties—the Labor Party [Partiya Truda]—will be appointed new deputy prime minister for investment and relations with the CIS.

Nonetheless, according to many Ukrainian politicians, the definitive redistribution of power is not yet over, and the struggle will go on. This prediction is confirmed by the fact that the president did not revoke the edict on the emergency committee, he just suspended it. Deputy Mykhaylo Horyn, leader of the Ukrainian Republican Party and the Congress of National-Democratic Forces, told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent: "The president's decision brought confusion into the minds of the deputies, but only pessimists think that this is a mess. To my mind, they have agreed to create a certain hierarchy of the executive branch and concentrate it in the hands of one person."

Quarrel Between Kravchuk, Kuchma Detailed

PM2406134793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Olga Musafirova report: "How Leonid Makarovich Quarreled with Leonid Danilovich—Ukraine's President Is Forced To Suspend the Edict Which Outraged the Prime Minister"]

[Text] Kiev—There was a time when anecdotes like this one would have earned you a prison sentence, no questions asked. Now the opposition actively exploits them—as the sole legal means of debate with the president.

I will stick close to the original. Kravchuk steps resolutely up to the parliamentary platform with a grenade in his hand. He removes the pin and accidentally throws it into the hall. There is general confusion. Leonid Makarovich, spotting his blunder, swings around with the grenade, which he promptly hurls back toward the presidium: "Hold on to it, please!" The presidium recoils in horror. The same request is directed at the government and once again comes a refusal. The deputies, too, refuse point-blank to justify his trust. "Okay then," the president utters pensively, "I will appeal to the people for support."

The story ought to raise a smile outside Ukraine's borders. But here, the Donbass miners, who are beginning to understand that they have been left holding a grenade without a pin—or, to put it simply, that they have been duped with the referendum—are in quite a different mood. Their mood is explosive. The referendum, which is scheduled for 26 September, is qualified in the event of a national vote of no confidence only to dissolve the current Supreme Soviet and to specify deadlines for the new elections. A "no" to the president will entail no consequences and will simply be taken on board. That is what they think.

In anticipation of the situation in Donbass and further afield flaring up with renewed vigor, the president is using edicts to build defensive positions. It has been learned from sources very close to the premier just how Leonid Kuchma found out about his appointment as head of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers' Emergency Committee for Questions of the Operative Management of the Economy.

It was at the airport in Borispol, from the foreign minister. The minister had received the edict the previous evening, but the premier had not.... Therefore, at a Dnepropetrovsk conference with enterprise managers, sectoral trade union representatives, and leaders of the ferrous metallurgy sector, Kuchma spoke very categorically. Thus, the sentence "I cannot work in this situation" was perceived by many as a fresh statement of resignation.

"Who am I today if all the power structures, the radio, and the television have been wrested from me?" the

premier asked the conference. "Through his edict, Leonid Makaravich has done what he proposed to the Supreme Soviet. The president and the vice president are there for special assignments. But I did not enter the government for special assignments, I entered the government as the premier."

Meeting halfway the wishes of certain groups of workers on the need for a strong hand in the state, the president split the executive once and for all with the next bombshell—I mean, edict.... Having assumed for himself control over the activity of the Cabinet of Ministers as a whole, he became the head of a second extraordinary committee—for combating organized crime. The idea of doing battle with the mafia in the Ukrainian economy, which was once put forward by Leonid Kuchma, was transformed into this formation standing above the Constitution and in possession of a more than extensive range of powers. The Internal Affairs Ministry, the Defense Ministry, the Security Service, the National Bank—the people's mood can be regulated excellently with the help of levers such as these, right up to completely destroying the term "mafia" in its consciousness.

Admittedly, 20 June, upon his arrival at a sitting of the Constitutional Commission, which is modifying the Fundamental Law more and more, Leonid Makarovich announced that he is suspending the edict after learning of the mixed reaction to it on the part of the premier and parliament.

"I was thinking along the following lines. The premier takes on economic problems, while the president takes on organized crime. He is the leader of a committee, I am a leader of a committee, but this does not mean that he has ceased to be the premier, or I the president," Leonid Makarovich said with genuine surprise at the offense taken by Leonid Danilovich. And he agreed to correct and amend the edict—if the Constitutional Commission (for want of a Constitutional Court in Ukraine) sees anything in the document which goes beyond the bounds....

Incidentally, the presidential onslaught based on the "divide and conquer" principle won immediate support from the Congress of National Democratic Forces, an organization whose priority is the formation of a national assembly state [natsionaloye sobornoye gosudarstvo]. That it might also be democratic is not ruled out, but it must be strong above all else. The parliamentary faction of the Congress of National Democratic Forces is actively pressing for the resignation of Premier Leonid Kuchma, the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, and the concentration of power in the president's hands. Above all, following the September referendum, the Congress will try to occupy the vacant position of "the party of power" in Ukraine. Then the anecdotes will be remembered—and it will be remembered just who was listening, and who was reciting.

Donetsk Plant Switches to Production of Car Parts

PM2406144793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By Gennadiy Kondaurov and Li Din Khvan; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Kondaurov] The Ukrainian metallurgical industry is slowly getting back to normal. Metalworkers at many plants took part in the strike, but production did not stop. Owing to the lack of raw materials, equipment was put on short time or overhauled. Ukrainian plants are now receiving enough coal to build up metal production again. But the Ukrainian metallurgical industry is facing a very acute problem—Ukraine doesn't need the amount of metal it currently produces. It accounts for virtually half the production of the former USSR. This sector could be the first to be hit by unemployment. The Donetsk Metallurgical Plant has found a way out of this crisis. It has started moving the plant away from cast iron, steel, and rolled metal and into production of components for the car industry and other sectors. The modernization project is being undertaken in conjunction with the well known German firm (Heuser). This firm has now begun construction on a large shop producing automobile springs suitable for all European makes. The shop will be completed on a turnkey basis within two years. The project will cost around $100 million.

Odessa Industrialists Urge Changes in Taxes, Customs

LD2406125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0947 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Odessa June 24 TASS—Ukraine has been left with only one realistic way of loosening the crisis gripping it and getting out of the maze of economic chaos—through the restoration of broken ties with republics of the former Soviet Union, changing the taxation system and putting an end to the arbitrariness practised by banks and liberalization of customs rules and regulations.

This is the collective opinion of directors of industrial enterprises and organizations of Odessa worked out by them at a session of the board of directors and expressed by them in a statement addressed to the president, Supreme Soviet and government of Ukraine.

Managers expressed solidarity with striking miners but are convinced that the continuation of strikes will push the state economy into a deeper crisis, and they intend to work at their enterprises to prevent the strikes.

It should be noted that the stand taken by industrialists of Odessa coincides with views to find a way out of the crisis expressed by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma in

parliament on Wednesday. The head of the Ukrainian Government will arrive in Odessa on June 25.

Kiev Poll Shows Little Support for Parliament, Kravchuk

LD2406153293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The Center for Democratic Initiatives attached to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociology has taken an interest in the attitude of Kiev residents toward the 26 September referendum. The poll demonstrated that, if it were held today, more than 74 percent of Kiev residents would vote no confidence in the Supreme Council and around 60 percent for no confidence in the president. Seven percent of Kiev residents have confidence in the parliament and 17.3 percent have confidence in the present head of the Ukrainian state.

There are about equal numbers of supporters and opponents of the government led by Leonid Kuchma.

Belarus

Kebich, UK's Hogg Discuss Economy, Disarmament

WS2406130493 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] On 23 June, Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich received British State Secretary Douglas Hogg who came to Minsk on a one-day visit. During the talks, which were conducted in a businesslike and instructive atmosphere, the Belarusian minister discussed the current situation in the Republic, the structure of the Belarusian economy, and the difficulties on the way to national independence and market reforms. They also discussed disarmament. Kebich noted that Belarus is strictly adhering to all the international agreements in this sphere to which it is a signatory. However, with regard to the dismantling of weapons under the strategic offensive weapons treaty, this process demands time and a large sum of money. This is a case in which the world community, including Great Britain, could render assistance to Belarus. Douglas Hogg, in his turn, confirmed that he views his visit to Belarus as the beginning of a new stage of business partnership and mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries.

Hogg on Russia's Importance

WS2506083693 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1206 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Unattributed BELINFORM report: "In Douglas Hogg's Opinion, Development of Belarusian Market Relations Depends on Republic's Cooperation with Russia"]

[Text] At the press conference held at the National Press Center on 23 June for Belarusian and foreign journalists, British State Secretary Douglas Hogg stated that the development of market relations in Belarus depends greatly on its cooperation with Russia.

"In my opinion, the economic and strategic development of Belarus and Russia are closely interrelated. The number of jobs in Belarus depends on the delivery of raw materials from Russia. Russia is the main source of energy resources and the key market for Belarus. Therefore, I believe that while strengthening its relations with the European Community, Belarus should pay special attention to its relations with Russia," Douglas Hogg added.

RSA Establishes Relations With Belarus

LD2406183093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1520 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Johannesburg June 24 TASS—South Africa established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Belarus, South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha said on Thursday.

According the statement of the South African Foreign Ministry, Belarusian Chairman of the Council of Ministers Vyacheslav Kebich is expected to visit South Africa at the end of July at the invitation of Roelof Botha.

Polish President To Visit Republic 28 Jun

WS2406131693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The program of Polish President Lech Walesa' stay in Belarus has been established. According to the counselor of the Polish Embassy in Belarus Mr. Marek (Zelkovskiy), Lech Walesa is going to meet with Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich, and chiefs of ministries; and hold a press conference for journalists. In addition, it was Lech Walesa's special wish to present the participants of the 1939 defensive battles with memorial medals. The ceremony of presenting the medals will be held in the Polish Embassy on 28 June, the day of Lech Walesa's arrival in Minsk. It is planned that after delivering a speech at the session of the legislature, Lech Walesa will leave at Baranovichi to meet with Poles living in Belarus. The same day, the Polish president will leave from Baranovichi to Novogrudok to visit the Adam Mickiewicz museum and hold a meeting with the citizens of this city. On his return to Baranovichi, Lech Walesa will leave for Poland.

Government Issues Decrees on Agriculture, Health Care

WS2506100693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] A regular session of the Presidium of the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers has been held. The participants focused on the urgent measures required with regard to agriculture in connection with the unfavorable weather conditions. Droughts and late frosts in May-June resulted in the deterioration of the condition of crops and even the destruction of crops in large areas. The government has elaborated a number of specific measures to improve the situation. A corresponding decree was adopted.

The Presidium of the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers has also discussed health protection issues. The government has passed a resolution on the creation of a Committee for Pharmaceutical and Microbiological Industry at the Council of Ministers, and the construction of a medicinal factory [words indistinct] in Smolevichi Rayon.

Some other issues of the social and economic life of the Republic were also discussed at the session of the Presidium of the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers.

Kravchanka on Lack of Resources for Demilitarization

WS2406131993 Minsk RID in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by RID correspondent Tatyana Shchebet: "Belarus Must Alone Convert Tanks into Sledges"]

[Text] Belarus will need some $33 million as soon as possible to dismantle its military-strategic weapons. According to Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka, he has already asked the world community to create a fund for the support of the dismantlement of the main strategic arms that have been left on the Belarusian territory since the breakup of the USSR. The answer is likely to be received soon.

Moldova

Russian 14th Army's Terms of Withdrawal Discussed

AU2406172693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2104 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 23/6/1993—Yesterday, in Chisinau began the sixth round of talks concerning status, conditions and terms of the withdrawal of Russian troops located on the territory of Moldova. The Chisinau delegation is headed by Moldovan ambassador to the Russian Federation, Anatol Taranu, the delegation from Russia by Vladimir Kitayev, a Department head in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia. A group of military experts is led by the General, Eduard Vorobyev, who participated in all preceding rounds. Vladimir Plechko, Russian ambassador in Moldova, is one of the members of Russian delegation. In conformity with agreements achieved in previous rounds, a parachute-landing regiment N300 was withdrawn from Chisinau. In October 1992 a pontoon regiment and rocket brigade were withdrawn from Tighina (Bender). During the fifth round it was agreed to transfer a radio-relay battalion, located in Varnita, under Moldovan jurisdiction and there was also considered a withdrawal of a certain number of Russian subunits from Tighina and the left bank of the Dniester River. During the talks was discussed a situation, which arose after the unilateral transfer of a Benderi plant for repair of military equipment under Dniester's jurisdiction. Nicolae Tureanu, the head of the Department of Military Politics and Agreements of the Moldovan Ministry of Defence, noted in his interview to a BASAPRESS reporter that the sixth round of talks turned out to be difficult, but he hopes that the majority of articles will be eventually confirmed. Tureanu believes that the second article concerning periods of the Russian troops' withdrawal can't be confirmed. Taking as a basis estimations of some experts, Moldova suggested to withdraw the 14th Army before the middle of the next year. No surprise that Tiraspol is the first to disagree. A joint declaration of the presidents of Moldova and Russia about considering withdrawal of the 14th Army with determination of the political status of the Dniester Republic is regarded by the representatives of Tiraspol as an advance condition to start withdrawal of the Russian military units. Nicolae Tureanu specified that during the current round of talks Moldova intends to submit a number of suggestions advantageous to Russia, about participation of Moldova in construction of homes for the Russian military men evacuated from the territory of Moldova.

Economy Minister on Energy Debt to Russia

LD2406091393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Moldovan Economics Minister Serghei Certain stated at a government session that the lion's share of imports from Russia consisted of energy resources, raw materials, medicines, and agricultural equipment. Certain said that in view of the decision of the Russian Parliament to convert technical credits into state ones, Moldova has found itself in a difficult position. In the energy sphere alone, Certain said that the sum total of debts to Russia exceeds 34 billion rubles [R], including nearly R32.5 for delivery of natural gas and petroleum products.

Weapons Said Hidden by Border Guards at Dubasari

AU2506112893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2104 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Tiraspol, BASAPRESS, 23/6/1993—The representatives of the Merger Commission of Control performed a verification of weapons of endowment at the picket of frontier guards from Dubasari subordinated to the authorities of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic. They discovered that most of the "Kalashnikov" guns did not exist, communicated sources of the local militia station. The quoted source stated that the guns should be kept at the gun rack according to the rules, but they are concealed by the same frontier guards. This is a serious infringement of a respective decision by the corresponding ministry of this anti-constitutional structure.

Executive Discusses Economic Stabilization Issues

AU2506113093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2104 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 23/6/1993—In today's session of the Executive of Chisinau which was led by the chief of state, measures for stabilizing the national economy were discussed, stated a communique of the president. Claudia Melnic, the minister of finance, reported on modifications in the corrected project of the state budget for this year and to ensure the reduction of the budget deficit by up to 6 percent. The respecting of this quotation conditioned by the International Monetary Fund will permit the republic to obtain credits for

promoting economic reforms, stresses the quoted source. The suggestion of reducing budgetary subventions by 40,000 million rubles through cutting expenditure of the government generated hot talks. President Snegur severely criticized some ministers who don't collaborate with the Ministry of Finance on rationalism encompassing expenditure of the budget. The chief of state also stressed that the producers should be encouraged through all methods, by increasing restrictions which lead to losing markets as well. The new project of the state budget is supposed to be presented for examination by the legislative body. The programme of measures for overcoming the crisis which affected the zootechnical sector was presented by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. It plans the transformation of some producing complexes of meat and eggs in state units. Amongst other things it was stressed that the liberalization of prices for dairy products will be performed slowly. The conception of informing the society and the mechanism of its transposition was adopted, indicates the quoted communique.

Ruble Deposits 'Nationalized;' New Currency Expected

MK2406103693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 3

[Yegor Glukharev report: "Moldova 'Nationalizes' the Ruble"]

[Text] To all appearances, the republics within the ruble zone are gradually awakening from illusions with regard to their future. Yesterday, the Moldovan National Bank issued a statement about the "nationalization" of all ruble deposits in Moldovan bank accounts. In specialists' view, this decision may mean that Moldova will soon introduce its own national currency—the leu.

According to the Moldovan National Bank's statement, all rubles in Moldovan banks will be transferred to republic ownership starting 1 July. After "nationalization" of the ruble supply, all interstate payments in rubles will be carried out via specialized codes awarded by the state. In order to settle payments, local commercial banks will have to open correspondent accounts in the Moldovan National Bank. Foreign banks, including Russian ones, have been recommended to raise their Moldovan branches' authorized capital to $300,000. In addition, it has been established that the minimum size of authorized capital for a foreign bank is to be at least $1 million.

According to specialists, the Moldovan National Bank decision to separate its own, "national" rubles from the total amount of rubles is designed to make "technical" preparations for the introduction of Moldova's national currency—the leu. The thing is that the new Moldovan money has already been printed, but for Moldova to switch to its own currency completely it has to calculate the amount of noncash rubles which will later be subject to exchange for lei. Thanks to the early "nationalization" Moldova may avoid the mistake made by Kyrgyzstan, which introduced the som without due preparation and as a result encountered payment problems in settlements with its immediate neighbors—Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Russia.

'Rational' Taxation Policy Suggested

AU2506090293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2104 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 23/6/1993—In the process of establishing of market economy it is possible to smooth a dangerous symptom of lamination of the society into "very rich" and "very poor" by means of the rational policy of taxation. This policy should take into consideration incomes of citizens, from the lowest to the highest, and apply in each case the appropriate, corresponding taxation, states a writer Genadiy Skvirenko in his article published in the newspaper GRAZHDANSKIY MIR. According to his opinion the minimum tax stake should be imposed on an income which does not exceed 10 [times the] minimum national wages. To an income ranging from 10 to 50 minimum wages one can apply progressive tax with a maximum tax stake around ⅓ of the whole income. In case an income exceeds 50 minimum wages it should be taxed by the progressive taxation with the maximum stake of about a half part of income. The author believes that this redistribution of taxes will provide relative stability of financial position of the ill-provided part of population and a certain increase of paying capacity of these people, without which no inner-market can exist. Moldova is lacking conditions not only for development, but also for mere surviving on the principles of self-providing. There is no commodity market, the income rate falls, unemployment increases, which is typical for economy based on active import. Thus salvation of the Republic lies within its export potential," states the newspaper GRAZHDANSKIY MIR.

Financial Support for Business Discussed

AU2506113293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2104 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 23/6/1993—Today in the Parliament of Moldova took place discussion of the project concerning "Ways of Improving Financial State of Commercial Structures." A suggestion of the minister of commerce and material resources, Tudor Slanina, about raising of rebate up to 30 percent has caused conflicting opinions. The head of the Federation of Independent Professional Unions, Serafin Urecheanu, has notified that in other countries this level does not exceed 15 percent. Several deputies voiced their opinion that lately the government was taking decisions contradicting principles of market economy. This may cause the collapse of many enterprises within 2-3 months. Political situation can become one of the reasons for the collapse as ⅓ of the territory and most of industry is beyond the state's control, stated the deputy Ilie Bratu.

As a result parliament did not adopt the bill proposed by the government and took decision about calling of an extraordinary session on the 3rd of August, canceling a regular one to make analysis of political, economical and social situation in Moldova. At the current session deputies will consider bills about state security, control over weapons, state land fund, privatisation, mass media and education.

Tiraspol Detainee Protests 'Slanderous Testimony'

AU2406103693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2104 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 23/6/1993—The National Radio of Moldova informed that today at the trial in Tiraspol, Ilascu has filed a protest against the slanderous testimony of the witness Vadim Shevtsov which the latter bore yesterday at the session. Ilascu stated that he has never recognised the communist regime and has never cooperated with it. Meanwhile, Ilascu drew attention to the crimes of Shevtsov in Lithuania, Georgia and Moldova, to the fact that Shevtsov was engaged in organising terrorist groups sent to a number of newly created states in the territory of the former USSR. Ilascu accused Shevtsov of being a false witness and demanded that he should be called to account. "I dispose convincing evidence in proof, and I am ready to present it to the Constitutional Court," added Ilascu. The panel of judges then listened to the witnesses summoned for today. The accused Ivantok and Godiac demanded to be taken out of the court-room.

Tighina Council Inactivity, 'Crisis' Viewed

AU2406172493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2104 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Tighina, BASAPRESS 23/6/1993—The Council of Tighina (Bender) goes through a serious crisis, declared Fiodor Parsegub, the President of the Validating Commission. Four unsuccessful attempts to convoke the deputies for the session were made between May and June. Actually 141 deputies don't respect their obligations, which is more than one third of the total number. There are deputies from Varnita (suburb of Tighina) amongst them who don't want to participate in the Council's activity and also deputies who left the city during the conflict without laying down the mandates. Most of them are from the city and neglect the work of the session. "The City Council intend to address the electors from the respective districts to deprive of mandates the deputies who had interrupted their activity," stated Parsegub. The local observers emphasised that as long as the authorities from Tiraspol claim Tighina be included in the structure of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic, the inability of the Council in taking decisions is likely to aggravate this process.

Kazakhstan

Tereshchenko Cited on Economic Disputes With Russia

PM2406095393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Vladimir Ardayev report: "Kazakhstani Prime Minister on Unsuccessful Talks With Russian Government"]

[Text] Almaty—A meeting of members of the Kazakhstani Government, heads of oblast administrations, chairmen of parliamentary committees, and leaders of banks and major industrial enterprises has been held in Almaty. It was devoted to the economic situation in the republic and the state of credit and money relations with the CIS countries. President N. Nazarbayev chaired the meeting.

Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko was the first to deliver a report. He spoke in particular about the meeting in Moscow between representatives of the Kazakhstani and Russian Governments. According to the premier, it was devoted to the main issues of Kazakhstani-Russian economic cooperation. The Central Bank of Russia's decision to conduct settlements with other states in the ruble zone only via unified correspondent accounts, he said, drastically delayed settlements and virtually initiated the breakup of the ruble zone. Then, deeming it unacceptable to provide credit to a state by means of Central Bank technical credits, Russia demanded that the balance of these accounts be converted into a state debt. That was why the routine working meeting at government level took place.

"There was a difficult but frank discussion," the Kazakhstani prime minister said. "The main, key issues of finance and credit relations and mutual settlements were, regrettably, not resolved. The tough stance of the Russian delegation presented by Council of Ministers Deputy Chairmen Fedorov and Shokhin and others took its toll."

S. Tereshchenko said that during the talks Kazakhstan acknowledged debts of 247 billion rubles [R] for last year based on the results of mutual correspondent account operations. In turn Russia acknowledges the possibility of offsetting part of this debt—to the tune of R79 billion—against Russian enterprises' debts. The fundamental disagreement was that Kazakhstan expressed willingness to take responsibility for the debts of its Kazakhstani enterprises, while Russia will not take responsibility for Russian enterprises' debts. Since not all Kazakhstani enterprises switched in a timely manner to delivering output only after prepayment, a situation has developed where Russian enterprises are using Kazakhstani resources free of charge instead of taking loans.

Russia is putting forward special terms for the provision of credits in 1993—these being effectively equivalent to loans given by foreign creditors. The Russian Government representatives advised their Kazakhstani colleagues henceforth to settle all questions of enterprises' real debts via the economic courts, but categorically refused to count them toward settling the state debt. It did not prove possible at the end of the meeting to agree on the allocation of a state credit to Kazakhstan in 1993.

"On the whole we were given a clear indication," S. Tereshchenko said, "that they do not want to see Kazakhstan in the ruble zone. We are being told to introduce our own currency."

S. Tereshchenko told all state economic structures to fundamentally reappraise and take a new look at the whole range of economic relations. The main thing is to formulate principled approaches on these issues, defend the state's economic sovereignty, and learn to live within your means. He proposed a number of measures, including tightening up Kazakhstan's money and credit policy.

President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who spoke at the conference, stressed that there should be no question of any abrupt shift in policy. Like it or not, integration processes will continue...

You get the impression that the effective failure of the talks with the Russian Government had a shock effect in Kazakhstan.

Kyrgyzstan

Cooperation Agreements Signed With Iran

LD2206180993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1602 GMT 22 Jun 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran, 22 Jun—Today saw the end of the official two-day visit of the delegation of Kyrgyzstan, led by President Askar Akayev, to the Islamic Republic of Iran. Before his departure from Tehran for Mashhad, from where Akayev will return home, seven documents were signed concerning bilateral cooperation in various spheres.

These include an agreement on the foundations of political relations, which envisages regular consultations between foreign ministers, the inadmissibility of the use of each other's territory for hostile activity against each other, and opposition to any acts directed against the interests of Iran and Kyrgyzstan. In accordance with the documents, the sides will cooperate and exchange information in the struggle against crime, terrorism, and smuggling of narcotics and works of art.

Other accords concern relations in the field of tourism. The opening of tourist agencies in Tehran and Bishkek is envisaged, with the training of experts in this field and cooperation in the sphere of civil aviation.

Iran and Kyrgyzstan have made the decision to do everything to develop bilateral trade, to set up chambers of trade, and to cooperate in the construction of industrial enterprises. The states will make their territory available to each other for goods transit. Under another accord it is envisaged that the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran will give assistance to its Kyrgyz colleagues in drafting and printing financial documents.

Askar Akayev said at Tehran airport that he is satisfied with the results of the visit. Seeing him off, Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani noted that Iran's cooperation with the Central Asian republics will have a "positive effect on the stability and prosperity of the whole region."

Uzbekistan Cuts Off Fuel Supplies for Nonpayment

PM1806094593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 93 p 1

[Yuriy Razgulyayev report under "Brief and Clear" rubric: "Our Gas Has Been Cut Off. This Is the First Reason..."]

[Text] Bishkek residents turned the hot water faucets in their apartments in vain. Following month-long repairs to the TETs [heat and electric power stations], homes have not been connected to the hot water supply. The reason: Uzbekistan has stopped supplying gas—the TETs owed 7 billion rubles for fuel. So although the presidents of the neighboring states meet regularly and reach agreement, life has been seriously complicated for many Kyrgyz by the unprepared introduction of their own currency.

WHO Opens Regional Information Center in Bishkek

LD2406133493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1021 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek June 24 TASS—A regional information centre of the World Health Organization (WHO), which has been opened in the capital of Kyrgyzstan, is called upon to determine basis problems and technical requirements of health protection of Central Asian countries and Kazakhstan. Jo Erik Asvall, director the WHO European Bureau was received on Thursday by Askar Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan.

According to Jo Erik Asvall, Kyrgyzstan attracted the World Health Organization by its geographical position, political stability and the republic leadership's striving to comprehensively solve problems of ecology and health protection.

The centre, which includes seven specialists, will be maintained by the World Health Organization.

First Private Airline Company Begins Operation

LD2406133193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Today, the planes of Kyrgyzstan's first private airline company, Zvezda Azii, will take off. One of the three TU-154's bearing the Zvezda Azii emblem will fly the Bishkek-Dzhambul-Moscow route, and very soon these airliners will be flying to Syria, the United Arab Emirates, China, and Russia, and also within the republic.

Uzbekistan

Trade Agreement Reached With Kyrgyzstan

LD1806155893 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1105 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan have agreed that from now on, with the introduction of the Kyrgyz national currency, they will carry out reciprocal deliveries of goods and services on a balanced and possibly clearing basis, at world prices. All calculations for exports and imports, with the exception of items on a special list, are being transferred to a contract basis with calculations in freely convertible currency. The sides have granted each other most-favored-nation status in relation to imports and exports. Kyrgyzstan has undertaken to pay Uzbekistan a state debt to the tune of $13.3 million.

Delegation Leaves for Tehran Transportation Talks

LD2406152093 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Jun 93

[No dateline as received]—A government delegation of the Republic of Uzbekistan, headed by Vice Premier Kazym Tulyaganov, has left for Iran. On 26 June in Tehran there will be negotiations among delegations of Iran, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan concerning the construction of rail and road links connecting the three states.

Government Bans Monuments to Living Persons

LD2406153093 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Perpetuation of the memory of and erection of monuments to living persons is henceforth no longer permitted in Uzbekistan. This is a government decision. The resolution adopted also determines that all monuments and memorials on the territory of Uzbekistan honoring outstanding personalities (posthumously) will now be designed on a competitive basis, and only by a decision of the Cabinet of Ministers. Proposals from oblasts and the capital of the republic may serve as grounds for this.

Azerbaijan

President Elchibey Reportedly Flees to Turkey

LD2406131993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1310 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 24 Jun—According to an unofficial report just received from Nakhichevan, Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey left Nakhichevan last night and is now in Turkey. The source of this report, the Nakhichevan independent REAL news agency, also reported that the head of state was accompanied by Siyavush Mustafayev, deputy minister of internal affairs of Nakhichevan autonomous republic, and other people.

'Sources' Deny Elchibey Left

LD2406140293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1330 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 24 Jun—According to an unofficial report just received from Nakhichevan, Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey left Nakhichevan last night and is now in Turkey. The source of this report, the Nakhichevan independent REAL news agency, also reported that the head of state was accompanied by Siyavush Mustafayev, deputy minister of internal affairs of Nakhichevan autonomous republic, and other people.

Official sources, as well as the information center of the Azerbaijan National Front (ANF), have refuted this information, reporting that the presidential aircraft is still at Nakhichevan airport. It has also become known that State Secretary Ali Kerimov, Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov, and Gulamguseyn Aliyev, chairman of the ANF assembly, flew to the autonomous republic today for a meeting with the president.

At first the Nakhichevan office in Baku neither confirmed nor denied the information from the REAL news agency. However, 10 minutes later an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told that just before dawn four cars crossed the Azerbaijan-Turkey border in the Sadarakskiy Rayon of the autonomous republic. The aforementioned Nakhichevan deputy interior minister was in one of the cars, but he soon returned and is currently at work.

"As for the president of Azerbaijan, no one could say that he was in one of the cars. It is impossible to get in contact with the village of Kalaki in Ordubadskiy Rayon, where Abulfaz Elchibey has his temporary residence. It is also impossible to get there," announced the office. According to the office's employees, the road to the village is guarded.

Aliyev 'Indirectly' Denies Report

LD2406155993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1503 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 24 Jun—The earlier transmitted report of the independent Nakhichevan-based "REAL" agency that the Azerbaijan president had left the autonomous republic and is now in Turkey has been indirectly denied this evening by Geydar Aliyev, chairman of Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet. Speaking a short time ago at an extraordinary session of Azerbaijan's National Assembly, which resumed its work almost three hours later than scheduled, the head of parliament announced that he and his deputies had today, during the first half of the day, held negotiations by telephone with Abulfaz Elchibey.

Report 'Refuted' by Aliyev

NC2406171793 Baku AZERTAC in English 1641 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 24 (AZERTAC)—Tonight, the Speaker of the Azerbaijan Parliament Mr. Geydar Aliyev refuted the information of Nakhichevan independent news agency 'REAL' about that the Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey is residing in Turkey now. During his speech at the Azerbaijan National Assembly meeting, that started its work 3 hours later than it has been planned, the parliamentary speaker said that he and three of his deputies have negotiated with Abulfaz Elchibey by phone today, in the afternoon.

According to Geydar Aliyev, the delay of the meeting was caused by the request of the president, who promised to prepare written report to the National Assembly statement about his returning to Baku, and to send it by fax. The parliament still did not received this document. Members of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan were also informed about that today Abulfaz Elchibey continued the consultation with his councillors. He also went into a questions about partial resignation his commissions to the speaker of the parliament.

Surat Guseynovs telegram was read out during the meeting. Mr. Guseynov demands the presidents resignation again. According to this telegram, Surat Guseynov stressed that otherwise the full responsibility for the further events will rest with Abulfaz Elchibey and his supporters.

Elchibey 'Stays in Keleki,' Receives Officials

NC2406174293 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1655 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 24 (ASSA-IRADA)—As it was reported a proposal was advanced at the Milli Mejlis [MM] sitting yesterday to hold today, June 24, a voting concerning the presidential powers, thus giving President Elchibey a chance to come to Baku and to perform his functions. Today's MM due to start at 3.00 p.m.

began at 5.45 p.m. but even by that time president stays in Keleki village of Ordubad province of Nakichevan. According to the report of press service of president, today Elchibey received State Secretary Ali Kerimov and Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov, who arrived in Gyandzha. They discussed the political and military situation in the republic, and president's attitude to the opinions and proposals uttered at the recent MM sessions. The same day Elchibey received a group of journalists and answered the questions concerning the recent events. While the president gives no reply, MM is debating over his powers.

Report on 23 Jun National Assembly Session

NC2406143693 Baku AZERTAC in English 1109 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 24 (AZERTAC)—An extraordinary session of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan suspended late at night yesterday, was adjourned to 15.00 today. The parliament members could not reach a unanimous opinion during a debate on the draft resolution on resignation the presidents commissions to the parliament speaker Geydar Aliyev submitted by MP Etibar Mamedov in connection with inability of Abulfaz Elchibey to carry out his duties.

Opinions of the lawyers, who had been given the draft to make their expert examination, varied. Some of them decided that the document contradicted the constitution of the Republic and could not be adopted, while the others held quite opposite opinion. By 2.00, as the latters opinion outweighted and the National Assembly was ready to vote, Geydar Aliyev proposed to adjourn the session giving the president little time to come to a final decision.

It is expected that Abulfaz Elchibeys written reply to the appeal of the National Assembly requested him to return to Baku will be published today. According to the confidential sources, he is still staying at his temporary residence in the mountain village of Keleki of the Ordubadskiy area of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. The situation is ever deteriorating in Baku. Groups of military men and policemen are patroling streets of the city. As it became known today, at night the head of the executive power was removed in Sumgait, the big industrial centre situated 40 kilometres far from Baku. The AZERTAC journalists failed in their attempts to connect with the executive power of Sumgait.

The todays issue of the famous Baku newspaper ZERKALO [MIRROR] says a discussion on future government structure of the so-called Talysh-Mugan republic has begun in the Lenkoranskiy district [in the south of Azerbaijan], where the executive power has been recently seized by a group of people headed by Alikram Gumbatov further that the local department of the Popular Front has been dissolved in accordance with the decision of peoples deputies session of Lenkoran.

Reportage on National Assembly 24 Jun Session

Decision on Elchibey's Powers Expected

LD2406140593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1250 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by KHABAR Service correspondent Lada Klokova from Baku by telephone]

[Text] At today's session of the Azerbaijan National Assembly, which starts work at 1700 [1300 GMT], the final resolution of the question of impeaching the president and handing his powers over to Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, is expected.

At yesterday's session of parliament, which lasted until 0200 at night, deputies gave the head of state an ultimatum: either he should return to Baku by 1500 hours on 24 June and start exercising his powers, or he should hand over his functions to Geydar Aliyev.

We remind you that yesterday some of the deputies complained to the speaker of parliament that he had assumed the powers of president after the departure of Abulfaz Elchibey and then renounced them. But Geydar Aliyev argued his case.

Etibar Mamedov, leader of the major opposition party, the Azerbaijan Independence Party, who then had the floor said Geydar Aliyev's actions were absolutely legitimate. He stressed that the speaker of parliament, under the Constitution, had started to temporarily execute the functions of the head of state after his sudden disappearance and then had renounced them as soon as the whereabouts of Elchibey were revealed. Etibar Mamedov also said that since the president could not currently exercise his functions, under Point 7, Article 121, of the republic's Constitution all duties of head of state should until his reelection be assumed by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. In this connection, the leader of the opposition asked the Assembly to vote for this proposal. He stressed that the president, ignoring the parliament's appeal to return to the capital, was in effect whipping up anarchy.

He was supported also by former Azerbaijani Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev, who pointed out that parliament should once and for all resolve the question of confidence in the president.

Secretary of State Ali Kerimov, commenting on Etibar Mamedov's words, in an interview to the KHABAR Service agency said the proposal of the leader of the opposition was illegal. He believed the main aim of the speech of Etibar Mamedov was the completion in parliament of the coup d'etat started by Gyandzha. He announced that on 23 June he spoke on the phone with the president and that Abulfaz Elchibey stated his readiness to give up some of his powers to Geydar Aliyev who, on the invitation of the head of state, had undertaken the settlement of the situation in the republic.

At the same time, Ali Kerimov stressed that the actions of the speaker of Parliament at the session of the Assembly were directed at lowering the authority of the president.

Meanwhile, by a decision of the Cabinet of Ministers and in accordance with the directions of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, persons not possessing a pass to go to Nakichevan are forbidden to enter that autonomous entity, where President Elchibey is now. Azerbaijan State Secretary Ali Kerimov in this connection did not rule out the possibility that this step was aimed at isolating Abulfaz Elchibey from the media.

Especially for Mayak radio station, from Baku, Lada Klokova, correspondent of KHABAR Service.

Mamedov on Removing Elchibey

TA2406153793 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1500 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani National Assembly has convened to decide on the transfer of President Abulfaz Elchibey's authorities. The Assembly is discussing the motion submitted by Etibar Mamedov, leader of the National Independence Party, on Elchibey's removal from office. In a statement to the Turkish Radio and Television [TRT], Mamedov said that there is an authority vacuum in the country, adding that Elchibey's authorities should be transferred to the parliament. Metin Canbaz from the TRT team in Baku reports the following:

[Begin Canbaz recording] Mamedov, who submitted the motion on stripping Elchibey of his authorities, was the focus of foreign correspondents in Baku today. We, as the TRT team, had the opportunity of meeting him at his party headquarters. Replying to our questions, Mamedov said that there is an authority vacuum in the country, adding that Elchibey's authorities should be transferred to the parliament. He pointed out that a referendum should be held in the country not for Elchibey but to put an end to the presidential system in the country and replace it with a parliamentary system. He noted the necessity for holding parliamentary elections as soon as possible and drawing up a new constitution. Mamedov stressed that no unconstitutional force can reign in the country and called on the forces of Surat Guseynov to withdraw from the vicinity of Baku and continue to perform their duties in accordance with the laws. He said: No one—whether it is Guseynov or someone else—can seize power outside the constitutional framework. We will not allow anyone to seize power through the force of arms in Azerbaijan.

Pointing out that Elchibey is not fulfilling his duties, Mamedov said that stripping him of his authorities is constitutional. After a delay, the Assembly began debating the motion on Elchibey's removal from office. [end recording]

Deputies Demand Resignation

LD2406163593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1515 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The information we have received today from Azerbaijan is rather controversial. I think we will now learn exactly what is happening there from Islam Kuliyev, our correspondent in Baku:

[Kuliyev] Good afternoon. Thank you for your confidence in my information. I have just returned from the Supreme Soviet, where the National Assembly session started at 1740. Opening it, Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, said that yesterday it was decided to resume the National Assembly session at 1500. In the morning he telephoned President Elchibey. Other members of the government also spoke to him. The president said that he is expecting the arrival of Ali Kerimov, secretary of state, in the village of Kiraki. He asked the Supreme Soviet to give him some time to prepare his reply to the address of the National Assembly.

It is already 1740, and there has been no reply from the president. Geydar Aliyev asked the deputies to wait until 1800.

In the time that followed, Deputy Shakhmad Guseynov asked to be given the floor and told the members of the National Assembly about the events in Gyandzha, how the government troops attacked a military unit of Colonel Surat Guseynov on 4 June, and about bloodshed and victims, among which were civilians from the town of Gyandzha. Deputy Guseynov called these events a crime, and demanded that a political assessment be given to them, not as the members of the People's Front are demanding—from 10-20 June—but from 4-20 June. In addition, Shakhmad Guseynov told the participants in the session about provocations by Surat Guseynov's units aimed at discrediting his name.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev then read an address from Colonel Surat Guseynov to the National Assembly. People's Deputy Guseynov then demanded that the president should resign not later than today. Etibar Mamedov, the leader of the National Independence Party of Azerbaijan, expressed the opinion that the situation caused by the vacuum which has evolved in the leadership of the republic is fraught with unpredictable consequences. Therefore there is no need to wait for the reply from President Elchibey, because by his actions he has violated the Constitution of the Azerbaijan Republic and is now trying to avoid responsibility. This opinion was supported by other participants in the National Assembly session. They demanded that the president and his supporters should be held responsible for illegal actions comitted by them during their rule in the Azerbaijan Republic.

To prove this, deputy Dzhabrail Mamedov told participants about secret operations elaborated by the president's team to eliminate military units of Colonel Surat Guseynov. These operations were code-named

"Typhoon" and "Thunderstorm," and only thanks to the combat skills of Surat Guseynov and the personal courage of helicopter pilots, these actions failed.

The National Assembly session was interrupted suddenly. The deputies were told that there had been an exchange of fire in Gyandzha and that the head of executive power in the town had been killed. Let me remind you that Colonel Surat Guseynov had recently recommended him to this post.

This is the latest news from Azerbaijan.

Elchibey: Remains Head of State

LD2406203993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 June 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] I have just been handed a report that we have received from the KHABAR-SERVIS agency [an Azerbaijani news agency]. The report says that the Azerbaijani parliament continued its session after a three-hour break. At this session a message was read out from Abulfaz Elchibey to the parliamentarians, in which he described the events taking place as a state coup and stated in addition that he continues to carry out the functions of head of state, and will resign only if all Azerbaijani people want this.

Elchibey Removed From Office

TA2406201093 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani National Assembly has removed President Abulfaz Elchibey from office, after the latter refused to heed the call to return to the capital Baku.

A proposal to remove him from office was made by opposition leader Etibar Mamedov and was accepted by 34 votes. The Assembly session was attended by 41 deputies.

A short while before the assembly vote, Elchibey had said that he would hand over part of his presidential powers. The decree he signed and sent to the Assembly on this issue was rejected on the grounds that it was against the Constitution.

'Stripped' of All Powers

LD2406211293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2056 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku June 25 TASS—The National Assembly of Azerbaijan stripped President Abulfaz Elchibey of all his powers late on Thursday [24 June] night and transferred them to Parliament Speaker Geydar Aliyev.

This was done after the parliament rejected a presidential decree, which Elchibey had sent from Keleki village of Ordubas district of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, where he is staying now, on a transfer of the bulk of his powers to the parliament chief.

The presidential decree was recognised by the National Assembly as not conforming to the constitution. The decree stipulated that the head of state retained the right to determine foreign policy, grant the citizenship of the Azerbaijani republic and sign laws and decrees.

Mixed Vote Reported on Ouster

NC2506075393 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0724 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Baku 25.06.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Azerbaijan parliament deprived Abulfaz Elchibey of all his power and put the powers in Geydar Aliyev chairman of the Supreme Soviet. 33 members of parliament voted for this decision, 3 MPs voted against, one MP abstained from voting. Only 37 MPs participated in voting. Quorum makes up 34 MPs. Many MPs insisted on putting to the vote the issue on non-confidence for the president and his resignation for violation the Constitution of Azerbaijan. To confirm it one of the MPs declared: He has exact information that Abulfaz Elchibey left for Turkey by car four hours, so he thinks that Abulfaz Elchibey by external forces [sentence as received]. However, Mr Etibar Mamedov leader of opposition declared that one can say about dismissal of the president only after getting the resolution of the parliamentarian and investigation committee and if this committee proves that president violated the Constitution of Azerbaijan. During the session lasted since 17.45 till 24 PM with three hour intervals.

Further Elchibey Comment

NC2506095893 Baku TURAN in English 0856 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 25 (TURAN)—"Yesterdays decree of Milli Mejlis of depriving me of all presidential authorities is the finish of the coup started by Surat Guseynov," president Elchibey of Azerbaijan said TURAN agency correspondent.

Commenting upon the decree president said: "Most of the deputies, who blame me for fleeing Baku, did everything possible to make my stay in the capital impossible, and now they blame the president for betrayal and cowardliness. But neither Milli Mejlis, nor private deputies didnt shoulder the responsibility for quarantee civil peace in case of my return."

Review of 24 Jun Session

NC2506104993 Baku TURAN in English 0856 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 25 (TURAN)—As it was reported, yesterday at 23.40 Milli Mejlis decided to deprive Abulfaz Elchibey of authorities of president of the country.

This decision was preceded by presidents decree on temporary hand over of 16 out of 20 his authorities to the chairman of Supreme Soviet. President motivated his decree as "necessity to find political way out of this situation and not to let blood be spilled". Abulfaz Elchibey handed over to the speaker practically 80 per cent of his authorities, including right to implement high executive power—to head the cabinet, to lead armed forces, legal administrations, system of state enterprises, right to nominate for prime-minister and to form the cabinet (excluding minister of foreign affairs), to create and liquidate ministries, to liquidate acts and decisions of ministries and institutions, to appoint the procurator of the Republic and judges (excluding supreme judge), to declare state of emergency and to introduce presidential government, to declare mobilization and call to military service. In accordance with this decree, president preserved only right to implement foreign policy, to appoint the head of MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], to grant Azerbaijan citizenship.

Commenting presidents decree, a number of deputates told, Constitution of Azerbaijan provided only for complete, but not partial, hand over of presidents authorities. Despite of such serious concessions from president side, Milli Mejlis rejected this variant.

The project, proposed by Etibar Mamedov was put to vote. Milli Mejlis accepted the decision to deprive president of all his authorities and hand them over to the chairman of SS [Supreme Soviet] Geydar Aliyev by 34 votes for, 4 against, two abstained and one not taking part in vote.

According to deputate Ibragim Ibragimov [spelling as received], representing PFA [Azerbaijani People's Front] in parliament, "This decision became logic end of military coup, started by Surat Guseynov and representing the coup in the highest legislative body."

Deputate Airf Aliyev [spelling as received], presenting so-called partocrats, in his turn, called Milli Mejlis decision "too smooth and humane, if take into account presidents violations of law".

Opposition leader Etibar Mamedov stressed, "if state commission, investigating Gyandzha events, will come to conclusion, that President Elchibey is to blame for bloodshed in Gyandzha June 4, the question to remove Abulfaz Elchibey from his presidential office would be placed".

National Assembly Adjourned Due to Assassinations

LD2406155893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1533 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 24 Jun—An unexpected adjournment has just been announced at the National Assembly of Azerbaijan. This is a result of investigations into the details of a terrorist action which took place 25 minutes ago in Gyandzha, which resulted in the death of the head of executive power, his deputy, and a staff member. This was announced to members of the National Assembly by Etibar Mamedov, leader of the opposition and chairman of the National Independence Party of Azerbaijan.

Further on Assassinations

NC2406175393 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1655 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Baku 24.06.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Terroristic act committed in Gyandzha has just said the Azerbaijan National Independence Party leader MP Etibar Mamedov at the Milli Mejlis session. According to the data he received, the act resulted in 3 men killed, one of them being newly appointed by Surat Guseynov mayor of Gyandzha. To clarify the details, Milli Mejlis has suspended its work and announced a break. Straight after that ASSA-IRADA contacted Gyandzha. Head of Extraordinary Staff of Gyandzha Aypara Aliyev, said, at about 6.00 p.m. [1400 GMT] the unknown persons rushed into the mayor's building and murdered Mayor Vagif Veliyev, his deputy and one of S. Guseynov's supporters.

Assassination Condemned

LD2406194693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1835 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 24 Jun—The press service of the Azerbaijani president has described the murder in Gyandzha today of Vagif Veliyev, head of the executive authority, his deputy, and a member of the executive staff, as the latest attempt by provocative forces to unleash a civil war in Azerbaijan. Its statement, circulated late this evening via the channels of the Azerbaijani Telegraph Agency, condemns this act of violence and expresses condolences to the families and loved ones of those who were killed.

Vagif Veliyev was proposed for the post of head of the Gyandzha executive authority immediately after the events that developed there at the beginning of June, and six days ago he was confirmed in the post by decree of the Azerbaijani president.

Guseynov Gradually Taking Control of Baku

LD2406161093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in the Azerbaijani capital remains unclear and tense. The streets of Baku are being patrolled by groups of military and police, and the latter are reported to be gradually coming under the control of Surat Guseynov.

Abulfaz Elchibey's written reply to the National Assembly's request that he should return to Baku is expected to be published today. According to a report from confidential sources, Elchibey was still in the Nakhichevan village of Keleki this morning.

Meanwhile, the REUTER agency forecasts one of the options for the future balance of forces in the leadership of Azerbaijan, that may satisfy many, if not all. Elchibey will remain president, and Geydar Aliyev the parliament speaker, while Surat Guseynov will become defense minister, and Ayaz Mutalibov, Azerbaijan's ex-president, will be prime minister.

There are now persistent rumors in Baku that Mutalibov has arrived incognito in the capital.

Guseynov on 'Provocations' in Baku, Other Issues

LD2406170993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1615 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva for TASS]

[Text] Gyandzha, 24 Jun—"There can be no question of a truce; the Republic's president should resign because he has steeped his hands in the people's blood," Colonel Surat Guseynov said today at a meeting with a group of foreign journalists from the United States, Russia, and Iran.

He also said that rumors that there might be clashes in Baku were groundless. "Illegally armed formations of the People's Front of Azerbaijan have recently been commiting various provocations in Baku using our name," Guseynov said. "I have received appeals from the city's citizens with a request to prevent possible clashes and I have sent my troops to Baku with the sole aim of disarming illegal formations and ensuring the safety of the capital's citizens."

Surat Guseynov emphasized that not a single foreign state or international organization should interfere in the events taking place, which, in his opinion, are strictly the internal affairs of sovereign and independent Azerbaijan. In his words, he is not fighting for power but waging a struggle for the reinstitution of order and equality. He repeated his demand that the inititators and organizers of the fratricide in Gyandzha be uncovered and punished.

As far as the issue of duty is concerned, said S. Guseynov, I agree to work in any post that may be offered to me if the people demand it. My only dream and goal, he said, is to defend the country and free our land from the enemy.

Guseynov Refutes Reports on Foreign Assistance

NC2506055593 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Colonel Surat Guseynov, commander of the antigovernment forces, has stressed the need to safeguard the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan and has stated that no foreign country has the right to interfere in Azerbaijan's domestic affairs. Speaking in an exclusive interview with a Central News Unit correspondent in Gyandzha, Guseynov refuted reports on the receipt of any type of assistance from other countries and described these reports as a plot by Baku's leadership against him.

In answer to another question by our correspondent, the commander of the antigovernment forces described the situation in the Republic of Azerbaijan as extremely critical and stated that he will strive for problems to be solved through peaceful means and that he will undertake the management of the country only if the people want him to.

Situation in Baku 'Calm' After Parliament Meeting

NC2506095493 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] A few minutes before 0800 [0330 GMT] we had a detailed telephone conversation with our correspondent in Baku on last night's session of the Azerbaijani National Assembly, on reaction by the various factions, and on the situation in Baku.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified studio announcer] On the basis of reports that we received a few hours ago, Azerbaijan's National Assembly stripped Abulfaz Aliyev Elchibey of his powers. What was the atmosphere of last night's session and what specific decisions did the deputies adopt?

[Correspondent Sheykhmohammadi] Greetings to you and to our dear compatriots. After Abulfaz Aliyev left the capital, the National Assembly held three extraordinary sessions to study the country's problems. The last such session was yesterday. During this session discussions concerned the deadline given to the president to either return to Baku or to hand his powers over to another person so that the country would emerge from the chaos. The president was given until 1500 yesterday to express his views on whether he would return or would hand his powers over to another person. This delayed the parliament's session until 1700 and when the session started, the president's reply had not yet been received.

It was well after 2100, and almost 2200 hours, last night when the president's reply reached the parliament and was read. The reply stated that the president was willing to hand over some powers to Speaker Geydar Aliyev.

The only powers which he retained concerned foreign affairs and the appointment of the president of the Supreme Court.

After this reply was read out and discussed, it was announced that since the signed version of the letter had not yet been received by the parliament, the deputies considered the reply to have no validity. The president had said in his unsigned letter that a signature would follow and had pointed out that he would not resign. The deputies said that this document was invalid, that the deadline given to the president had been extended for several hours, and that now that this extension of the deadline had not yielded any results, the parliament should make a definite decision on the president's powers. Thus, late last night the parliament decided to strip the president of his powers. Naturally, on the basis of the Constitution, when the president is stripped of his powers, these powers are automatically transferred to the speaker.

[Studio announcer] Mr. Sheykhmohammadi, does this stripping of powers mean the official dismissal of the president or does it pave the way for this?

[Sheykhmohammadi] This stripping of powers does not mean that the president is dismissed. That concerns another process. Here the president has been stripped of his powers because he cannot exercise these powers. In the next phase, once the outcome of the activities of the commission formed by the parliament to study the situation in Gyandzha are studied, the parliament will convene to study the dismissal of the president.

[Studio announcer] Did Surat Guseynov, commander of the forces opposing Abulfaz Aliyev, react to last night's decision by parliament, especially since earlier reports cited Guseynov as saying that he was personally willing to take over the powers of the president?

[Sheykhmohammadi] He has not reacted after last night's decision by the parliament. As previously reported and as far as I can see here, he stated that he does not intend to undertake any post as such, unless elections are held and the people vote for him to take over. However, he has not reacted as such. But after the assassination of the Gyandzha governor, his assistant, and one of the governorate's employees by an armed group yesterday exactly at the time when the parliament was meeting, Guseynov issued a statement that was read on television and that stated that since the National Assembly is unable to adopt a firm decision, and the country's situation is becoming chaotic, he considers it his legal right to adopt any serious step concerning the country's situation.

[Studio announcer] There is a 30-minute time difference between Tehran and Baku. It is 0800 here now. Please tell our listeners what the situation in Baku is like and if, after last night's decision by the parliament, any change has taken place in the city.

[Sheykhmohammadi] The situation in Baku is calm after last night's parliamentary decision. No other reports have been received from any other part of the Republic on any specific incident.

I would like to point out something that I forgot to say in answer to your first question. After the president's proposal on handing over some of his powers to the speaker, legal experts in the National Assembly stated that on the basis of the Constitution the president does not have the right to hand over part of his powers to someone and that he should hand over all his powers.

[Studio announcer] Thank you very much.

[Sheykhmohammadi] You are welcome. [end recording]

Surat Guseynov Halts Advance Toward Baku

NC2506103493 Baku TURAN in English 0856 GMT 25 Jun 93

["Surat Guseynovs Reaction to the Decree of Milli Mejlis Is yet Unknown"—TURAN headline]

[Text] Baku June 25 (TURAN)—Yesterday at 11 p.m. Surat Guseynov's units resumed the advance toward Baku in two directions. Ragim Gadzhiyev, deputee of Milli Mejlis said TURAN agency correspondent that, Surat Guseynov undertook this because of the delay of the question of the presidents resignation.

After the acception of the decree of depriving President Elchibey of presidential authorities by Milli Mejlis at 11.40 p.m. the advance of the units toward Baku was stopped. It happened at 12 p.m.

At present intensive negotiations between Geydar Aliyev and Surat Guseynov continue. As TURAN agency was reported by the source at the press-service of the biggest oppositional national independence party, Geydar Aliyev and Etibar Mamedov make efforts to persuade Surat Guseynov to content himself with the yesterday's decree of Milli Mejlis.

Together with this, Surat Guseynov himself hasnt express his opinion about the decree of Milli Mejlis and hasnt informed about his further actions yet.

Azerbaijani Opposition Leader Interviewed

NC2206080093 Tehran RESALAT in Persian 12 Jun 93 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Azerbaijani opposition leader Etibar Mamedov, who heads the National Independence Party, NIP, by an unidentified RESALAT correspondent in Baku; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [RESALAT] What are the National Independence Party's objections to the ruling People's Front?

[Mamedov] The Azerbaijani People's Front [APF] was established to gain independence and topple the communists. Naturally, conditions would change regarding its operation to establish a new government and regarding personalities setting up separate political parties. Our differences with them in general are that the People's Front operates along the lines of the previous system, that is, the Bolshevik system. There is no difference between the two. The communist government changed the government regulations by itself; this is still being done by the APF, which is changing the system on its own initiative and making decisions it considers superior to those of the government.

[RESALAT] Why have no parliamentary elections been held? Doesn't this stem from the ruling party's fear of the victory of their opponents in the elections?

[Mamedov] The ruling party postpones elections for fear of defeat and does not want to convene elections to consolidate its position. The party has no hope of winning elections.

[RESALAT] What are the highlights of the amendments being proposed in the Constitution? Are they merely cosmetic or are they farreaching and substantive?

[Mamedov] In the elections, the Constitution will be changed. The country can't be run with the current Constitution.

[RESALAT] How do you foresee the division of power in Azerbaijan?

[Mamedov] The government should be formed on the basis of popular elections; the people will decide the party they want to run the country.

[RESALAT] How do you assess the position and activities of the parties opposed to the current regime?

[Mamedov] The regime opposes the activities of the political parties and has imposed an extraordinary situation to prevent these political parties from operating.

[RESALAT] What is your appraisal of the APF's performance? Is it losing its popularity?

[Mamedov] The APF was striving with the people to achieve independence and freedom; it played an important role. Now that it has achieved this objective, there is no further need for the Front, which should leave the political scene. Its continuing presence will hamper the performance of some functions.

[RESALAT] How close are Azerbaijan and Israel?

[Mamedov] Azerbaijan and Israel should assess this. We should have commercial relations with every country. As for political relations, national, religious, and governmental interests should be borne in mind.

[RESALAT] What is your view of the contradictory policy Turkey pursues in the region? It considers itself 100 percent behind Azerbaijan, yet expands relations with Armenia.

[Mamedov] I have reiterated that nations, not governments, should be brothers. Governments have their own interests, on the basis of which officials formulate policy. This principle prevails in Iran, Turkey, Russia, as well as in Azerbaijan.

[RESALAT] What kind of assistance do Iran and Turkey give Azerbaijan?

[Mamedov] I have some specific views on such assistance. Turkey and Iran are two of Azerbaijan's neighbors and there are strong ties among residents. Their people (nearly 90 percent) have relatives in Azerbaijan and their governments have declared their intention to assist Azerbaijan.

If Azerbaijan wishes to get aid from other countries, it will have to cross the territory of these two countries, but we do not want to pin our hopes on assistance from other countries. We should rely on our own resources. It is only in difficult or crisis situations that it is necessary to accept assistance from friendly countries.

[RESALAT] How do you view Azerbaijan's relations with Russia and the United States? In view of the fact that they are the actual supporters of Armenia in its aggression against Azerbaijan?

[Mamedov] Whether we like it or not, these are two very large countries, one of which is Azerbaijan's neighbor. Any events that occur in Russia affect Azerbaijan as well. However, I would like to stress that we should not permit our destiny to depend on other countries.

Azerbaijan has its own national interests and should formulate its policies on the basis of these interests. We should have relations with the United States and Russia but with the proviso that these relations not jeopardize our national interests.

[RESALAT] If your party takes power, what programs have you envisioned that have not been given attention by the APF?

[Mamedov] The fundamental issue is to approve a new Constitution to set up the structure of the government. Then, laws for an independent Azerbaijan should be ratified and implemented. Everyone should abide by these laws, from the President to the common man, without exception.

Another main issue is the economic problems of the country. We are in favor of privatization with minimal governmental supervision. The government should assist in economic expansion but should not enter into production directly. The people should be left to their own devices and the government should only provide assistance. This should apply to agriculture as well and

the land should be handed over to the peasants, while the government continues to help them.

Azerbaijan is in such condition that it is possible that some sort of embargo may be imposed on it. We should therefore be prepared for such a possibility and extricate ourselves from such a situation with the same expertise as Iran has done in similar circumstances.

[RESALAT] What are your party's views on Islam?

[Mamedov] We have declared in our party's manifesto that we are realistic as regards the religion of Islam. We are Muslims and the government should assist in the expansion of Islam.

[RESALAT] You mean to say that you consider Islam to be an individual matter?

[Mamedov] No, it would be the religion of the government.

[RESALAT] Do you mean that Islam will have a place in the political administration of the country?

[Mamedov] What do you mean by Islam?

[RESALAT] I mean will the basis of the administration be the Islamic shari'ah similar to the one in Iran?

[Mamedov] It is natural that in the compilation of our laws, Islamic laws will be kept in mind, since the country's population is Muslim. All these factors should be considered.

[RESALAT] Which parties are you close to and would probably form a coalition with in the future?

[Mamedov] At present there is no strong party in Azerbaijan. Ours is the biggest party and then we have the New Front. The Musavat (Equality) Party is also operating and there are other parties as well. At present we have enough manpower to participate independently in the elections and we are not contemplating any kind of coalition with other parties. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] How can you resolve the economic problems of the people, and what programs do you have in this regard?

[Mamedov] We have very specific economic programs. Our economic policy is based on privatization and absorbing the people's capital. We favor expanding commercial relations and giving complete freedom to the people in this regard. However, in the transitional period, the government should give support to the lower income groups.

[RESALAT] What is your opinion on the recent governmental appointments?

[Mamedov] These measures fall within the jurisdiction of the government and we do not wish to interfere in this area. The President has the authority to select the prime minister and cabinet ministers and he does so accordingly. We have no wish to enter into these matters.

[RESALAT] Do you think that the Azerbaijani Government has acted appropriately regarding the defense of the country in the face of Armenian aggression?

[Mamedov] In order to combat this aggression we should have special forces and armies. Talks can only be fruitful when the military forces of the two countries are equal; otherwise, there can be no success in this regard. [passage omitted]

[RESALAT] What will the effect of relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan be, now that Demirel has replaced Turgut Ozal?

[Mamedov] There will be no particular changes. The election of a president is an internal matter and Azerbaijan accepts this as a reality. There will be no important effect.

[RESALAT] What is your opinion on the relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Azerbaijan, and how do you view the future of these relations?

[Mamedov] I believe that the relations between Iran and Azerbaijan are not in a very natural or ideal condition. There should be more extensive, stronger and broader relations, especially in the economic and cultural fields. These relations are bound to proliferate gradually, as this is what the people of the two countries want. They are not only neighbors but are bound by familial ties and mutual contacts will increase and foster a greater reciprocal understanding. I do not foresee any barriers between the two countries and I see that the borders will remain open.

[RESALAT] I thank you for the time that you have spared for us.

[Mamedov] I also wish to extend my gratitude to you.

Nagorno-Karabakh Delays Implementing CSCE Peace Plan

LD2206193993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Jun 93

[By E. Sakhinov; caption reads "Prometey" Information Agency; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The leadership of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic continues to insist on an extension of the period for implementing the Minsk CSCE group's schedule of urgent measures for settling the conflict in the region. The persistence of the Nagorno-Karabakh authorities in this issue can be attributed to the extremely unstable situation in Azerbaijan. Perhaps it is also because Nagorno-Karabakh's own decision to join the trilateral initiative was made in very complex conditions: After all, the decision gives almost no guarantees to Karabakh itself.

The press center of the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic denies rumors of an attack by the Karabakh defense army on Agdam.

UNSC Asked To Demand Immediate Cease-Fire From Armenia

LD2406195893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0835 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By Boris Sitnikov, ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] United Nations, 24 Jun—Azerbaijan has called on the UN Security Council to demand that Armenia implement an immediate cease-fire and free the territories it has seized. This is stated in a letter from Gasan Gasanov, Azerbaijan's permanent representative at the United Nations, circulated at UN Headquarters on Wednesday as a Security Council document.

Exploiting the internal political tension in Azerbaijan, the letter says, the Armenian armed forces have sharply stepped up their military operations in the Agdam and Agdarya rayons of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Armenian troops and equipment are also continuing to mass on the outskirts of the rayon center, Agdere. "By its active military operations on the territory of Azerbaijan, the Armenian side is once again demonstrating that it has no intention of carrying out Security Council Resolution No. 822 or the schedule of urgent measures proposed by the nine countries of the Minsk Group."

In this connection, Azerbaijan asked the Security Council to "demand from the Republic of Armenia an immediate cessation of all military operations and hostile acts, with the aim of achieving a lasting cease-fire and also the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces from the Azerbaijani territories that have been seized."

Georgia

Shevardnadze Arrives in Bonn for Official Visit

LD2306195093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1920 GMT 23 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn, 23 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze arrived here from Brussels today. The official part of his visit to Germany, which will last till 26 June, begins Thursday [24 June]. The head of the Georgian state will meet with Federal President Richard von Weizsacker, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, other German ministers, and prominent business personalities.

Questions of developing cooperation between Germany and Georgia in various spheres and ways of settling the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict will be the main themes of these talks.

It is envisioned that a number of documents will be signed during the visit, in particular, a joint statement and agreement on long-term cooperation between the German concern 'Siemens' and Georgia.

Kohl Promises 'All Kinds of Aid'

LD2406163693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1614 GMT 24 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Bonn June 24 TASS—The Federal Republic of Germany intends to give all kinds of aid to Georgia in the implementation of economic reforms, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl declared during his talks with Georgian Parliamentary Speaker Eduard Shevardnadze on Thursday.

Concrete measures on the aid programme were outlined in a joint statement on fundamentals of bilateral relations, signed by Shevardnadze and Kohl at the federal chancellor's office.

The statement says that leaders of Germany and Georgia intend to develop close cooperation in the interests of the people of their countries with the aim of strengthening peace in Europe and the whole world. Both sides are convinced that there is a need to create a new Europe, united by common values and turn it into a continent of peace, stability, security and cooperation, the statement said. "The observance of human rights and basic freedoms, principles of humanity, democracy and law is the foundation for the creation of the new Europe," the statement said.

The statement attaches special importance to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between Germany and Georgia. It is necessary to create favourable conditions for the development of market relations in Georgia in the sphere of economy, in the agrarian sector, in the sphere of services and with the aim of developing close cooperation between German and Georgian entrepreneurs.

Among concrete projects mentioned in the statement is the establishment of foundations for training Georgian students in Germany and preparing specialists of a broad qualification.

Germany undertakes to promote the development of a budgetary and taxation system, banking business, stock exchanges and privatisation in Georgia. "Both sides attach special importance to the training and teaching new specialities to highly qualified managers of the Georgian economy and are prepared to develop and deepen cooperation in this sphere."

The document envisages the development of cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection and the use of natural resources. Germany is prepared to render assistance in this sphere by training highly-qualified personnel. The document envisages further development

of cultural exchange, providing comprehensive assistance to people of German extraction residing on the Georgian territory. Georgia and Germany expressed their intention to take joint actions in combating organized crime, drug sales and illegal transportation of nuclear materials and cultural values.

Shevardnadze Holds News Conference

LD2506102693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Report on statement by head of state Eduard Shevardnadze at a news conference in Bonn on 24 June]

[Text] The bilateral document signed here provides a firm basis for developing bilateral and mutually beneficial relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Georgia. During today's negotiations with Richard von Weizsaecker and Helmut Kohl we discussed a wide range of issues of a global nature and those connected with the development of Europe, the situation in the former republics of the Soviet Union, in the Caucasus, and, in particular, in Georgia.

The standard of living in Georgia used to be good, he stressed, but now 85 percent of the whole population in our country lives on the verge of poverty, many of them are starving. When answering a question of whether Bonn was ready to help Georgia's leadership in this dramatic period of the country's development, Eduard Shevardnadze said: In Bonn we have felt a friendly support, solidarity, and readiness to help us in these hard times. I am pleased with the results of the first day of the visit, the Georgian head of state stressed in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent. I hope that we shall receive all the help from the FRG that Georgia urgently needs in order to slacken the tension in the country, but I pin great hopes on other decisions; namely, normalizing our relations with Russia. At the moment a number of bilateral economic and political agreements with your state are ready. I hope that we shall be able to reconstruct the economic relations with Russia that were formed over decades. We are ready to sign the agreements today.

What role can the FRG play in settling the situation in Georgia? We think that the FRG, being a great state, can help us not only economically, but also help us in settling the political situation. Germany is participating in the work of the leaders of the seven leading states and governments of the West. I think that at its next meeting in Tokyo the G-7 countries must consider the problems of the former Soviet republics. I have already said, and shall repeat once again, that it is important that Russia be stable. The G-7 must consider the issues of the situation in the neighboring states as destabilizing, and the situation there can have a negative effect on Russia's stability, said Georgia's leader.

Dozens Killed, Hurt in 'Massive' Shelling of Sukhumi

LD2406130493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1232 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jun—The Abkhaz Ministry of Information has reported from Sukhumi that the town came under a massive artillery shelling by Abkhaz subunits using Grad installations at dawn and at 1215 hours today. As a result of direct hits in the central part of Sukhumi, fires broke out, there is considerable destruction, and dozens of civilians have lost their lives or sustained injuries.

Major General Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, appraised the activities of the Gudauta group as an unwillingness to settle the conflict peacefully and a deliberate blocking of the peacemaking efforts by international organizations. Tamaz Nadareishvili thinks that the Abkhaz formations intend to embark on a large-scale offensive against Sukhumi on 25-26 June.

Defense Council Chief Interviewed

LD2406184893 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Telephone interview with Abkhazian Defense Council Chairman Tamaz Nadareishvili by unidentified announcer on 24 June—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Tamaz, despite the fact that the war in Abkhazia has been in progress for about 10 months, today's bombardment caused especially grave results.

[Nadareishvili] Mass shelling of Sukhumi began at 0800 today. You were right to say that such shelling has not been experienced before, for it was carried out in an extremely intense way for almost one hour. Mainly Grad-type shells were used. Heavy artillery was also engaged in the shelling, causing severe damage to the city in general and its population.

The death toll has now reached 12. Heavy damage can be observed in the city and work is still in progress to find corpses. About 30 people have been wounded, 25 of them very seriously. We are not sure if they can survive. Extensive damage was caused to the city. There is fire in the city. The city is on fire. Smoke covers everything. Everything possible is being done to extinguish the fires. But, unfortunately, we cannot act as we would wish.

I have issued an order, as the chairman of the Defense Council, to take adequate measures in the directions of Tkvarcheli and Gudauta—I mean by using aviation, as well as heavy artillery and our Grad-type launchers. I do not know why, but my order has not been executed. This should be cleared. I will call to account not only the Army Corps head, but also heads of brigades. My order must be executed.

Besides, I would like to inform you that this day has also proved that negotiations cannot settle the problem. Therefore, perhaps everyone, I mean the parliament, as well as the government of the state, the head of state, his office and the military, will realize what is most important. We all must realize that if we want Abkhazia to be within the Georgian borders, it is necessary that we take severe measures by using military force and our borders should be restored. If we are a state. If we are not a state then we should admit that we are not a state and stop sacrificing these people for nothing. An assault is expected in the near future.

We have not slept for five or six nights. We are with these expectations every day, and it is extremely difficult to live with such expectations and ambiguity. Therefore, since Mr. Karkarashvili has arrived—we have already met today—and at our another meeting later today, as the chairman of the Defense Council, I will put a question point blank about the use of military force.

Messages to Yeltsin, Butrus-Ghali

LD2406194493 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1456 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] [No dateline as received]—The parliament of the Republic of Georgia today sent a message to Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, to the Russian Supreme Soviet, and to Butrus Butrus-Ghali, the UN secretary general, concerning the unprecedented barbaric bomb attack on the town of Sukhumi that killed dozens of civilians. Members of the Georgian Parliament emphasized that a decisive political stage is now starting in Georgia.

The message reports that the Abkhazian side has once again violated the cease-fire agreement and says that the Russian side is responsible for implementing the articles of the agreements signed on 3 September 1992 and 14 May of this year. The Georgian side, in turn, is doing everything to adhere to these agreements. However, in spite of Georgia's attempts to settle the conflict peacefully, all these attempts have been ruined. In connection with this the Russian side is obliged to react in the necessary fashion to current events to prevent their further tragic development. Irresponsible statements by several Russian reactionary individuals also provoke some indignation.

The Georgian Parliament demands that Russia adopt measures to fulfill the duties it has undertaken regarding the cease-fire in Abkhazia, taking into account the fact that they are not to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign Georgia.

Further Appeals

LD2506084793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 25 Jun 93

[Text] Abkhazia's salvation committee sent a telegram to Butrus-Ghali, secretary general of the United Nations Organization, U.S. President Bill Clinton, and Russia's President Boris Yeltsin. The telegram says: Many visits by the United Nations representatives and Russia's authoritative bodies to the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict zone have confirmed our alarm about the destructive results that combat actions in Abkhazia can have. We have familiarized you with this and have asked you to use all means for a peaceful settlement but there has been no desired result. A massive bombing of Sukhumi was started, and people were killed and wounded. Please, take active measures to establish the cease-fire on the whole territory of Abkhazia.

Georgian Troops Shell Eastern Abkhazia 25 Jun

LD2506083593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0751 GMT 25 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 25 TASS—Georgian troops shelled the residential areas in Merkula, Mokva and Kutol of the Ochamchira District in eastern Abkhazia at 4.30 this morning and proceeded with artillery bombardment of the villages of Katsikhabla, Pokvash and Baslakhu at five and six o'clock.

Several civilians were wounded, ITAR-TASS learned at the press service of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet. According to the same source, Abkhaz positions along the Gumista River and the city of Novy Afon came under Georgian fire the day before. Four civilians were reported to be injured.

Abkhaz Rally Expresses Thanks for Russian Aid

PM2406105393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By Ruslan Khashig and Oleg Akhmed Ogly; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Khashig] At a nationwide rally the Abkhaz people have expressed their sincere gratitude to Russia for its humanitarian aid. Despite the complexity of the situation, the Russian Federation State Committee for Emergency Situations has succeeded in carrying out a humanitarian operation in Abkhazia. A total of around 500 tonnes of humanitarian aid has been delivered to blockaded Tkvarcheli and the cities of Sukhumi and Gagra. More than 2,500 elderly people, women, and children who had suffered the full force of the privations visited upon by them by the war have been evacuated. By staging this humanitarian operation and fulfilling its peacekeeping mission in the armed conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia, Russia has reaffirmed its desire to achieve a peaceful solution. But, at the same time, speakers at the rally noted with alarm that, although such operations alleviate the people's position, they are not helping to bring about an end to the war in Abkhazia. The rally unanimously adopted an appeal to Russian President Boris Yeltsin stating that the only possible solution to the situation would be an unconditional withdrawal from Abkhazia by Georgian troops rather than a temporary cease-fire.

Estonia

Ambassador on Russia's 'Latest Threats'

LD2306162493 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1600 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Estonian Ambassador to Russia Juri Kahn stated today that Russia's latest threats against Estonia go beyond the framework of normal relations and could be qualified as interference in Estonia's internal affairs. At a news conference today Kahn said that such threats against Estonia are Russia's reaction to Estonia's strengthening statehood following Estonia's admission as a full member of the Council of Europe.

The ambassador believes that Moscow politicians are forced to use the Estonian card first and foremost because of the domestic tensions in Russia.

Laar Holds Meetings With Narva Leaders

LD2406120793 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Prime Minister Mart Laar met the leaders of industry and public organizations and trade unions in Narva at Toompea [government seat in Tallinn] yesterday. Chairmen of both Narva and Sillamae town councils—Vladimir Chuykin and Aleksandr Romashnenko—and Narva Mayor Vladimir Mizhuy were also present. Issues to do with implementing the law on foreigners, adopted by the parliament, were discussed. The prime minister agreed that explanations that preceded the adoption of the law had been poor, public organizations had hardly been consulted, and the public had not been involved.

Leaders of several industrial enterprises of Narva stated at the meeting with the prime minister that their situation on obtaining funds and foreign credits is about to change.

It was noted that thefts of non-ferrous metal from Narva power stations cause a great deal of concern. According to Anatoli Paal, director of the Baltic power station, 300-400 meters of cable are stolen from the power station daily. Such a situation may render the power station unable to work in the very near future. Definite measures should be implemented, with security at power stations reinforced first and foremost. For this purpose, however, there is no local capability.

The prime minister promised to seek ways so that Interior Ministry units can be dispatched urgently to reinforce security at Narva power stations.

'Ethnic Cleansing' Law Affects Ties With Russia

PM2406153593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 1

[Valeriy Gromak and Sergey Knyazkov report: "Ethnic Cleansing Begins in Estonia. Law 'On Aliens' Sharply Exacerbates Russian-Estonian Relations"]

[Text] On 21 June the Estonian Republic State Assembly adopted the Law "On Aliens" by 59 votes to 3. Prepared by one of the deputies in the ruling right-wing-radical coalition, this draft law places practically all of the republic's permanent inhabitants who do not have Estonian citizenship in the position of illegal immigrants unless they submit an application for a residence permit within a specific time. Furthermore, all they can count on is a permit for a period of no more than two years.

Be that as it may, the draft Law "On Aliens" has generated protest not only among the republic's Russian-speaking population, which makes up the majority of future, and now real "aliens," but also among the parliamentary opposition, which is describing this as an attempt to start ethnic cleansing in the republic. Peet Kask, an adviser to the centrist party which is in opposition, notably said this in an interview on local television.

Apart from the permanent Russian-speaking inhabitants of the republic, this law, together with a decree of the Tallinn City Soviet, seriously infringes the rights of all who have ever been connected with the Soviet and Russian Armies. In particular, the documents envisage divesting citizens who are performing service or have previously served in the armies of "foreign" states of their permit. Furthermore, those who do not have a permit or the right of residence are obliged to leave Estonia at the authorities' first demand. Many officers at the Tallinn Naval Base whose permit ran out 1 June 1993 have already been visited by representatives of the city housing commission and informed that their apartments are being "put on the housing list."

The Law "On Aliens" is now also playing both the role of "controller" of the numerical strength of the Russian Armed Forces in Estonia and "supervisor" of noncitizens of the republic who live here and have declared a wish to serve in the Russian Army on contract. If this contract is signed, they will be stripped of their Estonian right of residence and permit.

In the face of this, the Russian-speaking population intends to start acts of civil disobedience. As Vladimir Chuykin, chairman of the Narva City Committee, stated, the situation in the city has reached critical point. It is assumed that the Estonian and Baltic GRES's [state regional electric power stations], which supply the republic with electric power, will stop working, and the inhabitants of Narva also intend to block the work of the border transport network. The option of holding a referendum in places that have a high density of Russian-speaking inhabitants (and this primarily means Narva, Sillamae, and a number of adjacent areas) on separating these territories from Estonia and on incorporating them into Russia cannot be ruled out.

The adoption of the Law "On Aliens" has led to a sharp deterioration in Russian-Estonian relations. As Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin reported, a package of serious diplomatic, political, and possibly not

only political measures in respect of Estonia is being examined. This could concern suspending the withdrawal of troops from the republic again, for example, or stripping it of most-favored-nation status in trade with Russia. In other words, this time Moscow is prepared to take resolute measures to protect the interests of the Russian-speaking population of Estonia.

Lithuania

Prime Minister, Warren Christopher Discuss Economy

LD2306182593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Having concluded his official meetings with high-ranking U.S. officials and his negotiations with leaders of international banks and businessmen in Washington, the Lithuanian prime minister will have a meeting with the U.S. deputy secretary of the treasury today.

One of his most important meetings was with Secretary of State Warren Christopher yesterday. The secretary of state told the prime minister that a $50 million fund has been set up by the United States to support business initiatives in the Baltic states. Other possibilities for economic assistance to Lithuania by the United States were also discussed at the meeting. The prime minister expressed his gratitude to the U.S. leadership for its assistance for Lithuanian agriculture and power engineering and the support rendered in solving problems of Russian troop withdrawal.

The prime minister expressed his wish to Warren Christopher that the actions of the Russian troops in the final stage of withdrawal be observed by the Americans. After the meeting the prime minister said that his request was favorably received. These questions should be coordinated through the mediation of the embassies of both countries. The issue of Lithuania's participation in the U.S.- financed program of building housing for Russian servicemen returning from abroad was also discussed by representatives of the U.S. State Department and the Lithuanian prime minister.

Adolfas Slezevicius will return to Lithuania tomorow.

Participation in European Security System Discussed

LD2306212493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 23 Jun 93

[Text] Lithuanian politicians and members of the state administration expect that the new system of European security will be set up with the inclusion of the Baltic states.

Commenting on the draft new system of European Security adopted by the leaders of the EEC countries in Copenhagen on Tuesday [22 June], Justas Paleckis, adviser to the president on foreign affairs, told the Baltic News Service [BNS] correspondent that without the Baltic states security would be vulnerable. Mr. Paleckis expressed the hope that a place for the Baltic states will also be envisaged in the draft of the CSCE. On the other hand, according to him, the naming of the larger and economically stronger republics of the former Soviet Union indicates where the priorities lie in matters such as this.

Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Minister Virginijus Papirtis, who is currently acting foreign minister, refused to make more serious conclusions concerning the BNS report about the new system of European security.

Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the Lithuanian Seimas right-wing opposition, said that the decision to set up a conference on European stability and security without Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia would cause great concern in this region.

Defense Council Approves National Security Concept

WS2506083793 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1325 GMT 24 Jun 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 272]

[Text] 24 June 1993—State Defence Council approved the project of national security concept. The State Defence Council which has been established this year consists of President of Republic, Premier Minister, Chairman of the Parliament, Minister of State Defence and Head of the Army, Ministers of Foreign and Internal affairs, General Director of the Security Council as well as the chairman of the parliamental Security Committee are always invited in it's sessions, and other officials also if necessary. The state Defence Council is a Constitutional body. It forms basis of state defence and prepares directions of defence strategy, coordinates activities of state institutions on the vital defence issues, provides the President, Parliament and the Government recommendations on defence against armed aggression, declaring state of war. It's decisions are binding to all state institutions. The President is the chairman of the council. The security concept forces citizen's right to fight against in the case of military aggression and defend the Republic's sovereignty according to the principles of the United Nations Chart. The document defines possible external threats to the security of Lithuanian Republic. These are - remaining and ever growing unstability, the possibility of authoritarianism and nationalism in the territory of the former Soviet Union, Lithuania's economical dependence to the East, huge military and nuclear arsenal in the newly formed Eastern states, presence of the strange army in the Baltic states and many others. Among possible internal threats, the document refers to situation unstability related to the confrontation of political forces, possible ecological catastrophies, crimes against constitutional structure and public order. The concept provides the ways of organizing the system guaranteeing national security of the

Republic in peace and war time, in cases of state of emergency and crisis. The concept of the Lithuanian national security, as noted in the session, must be a flexible and open structure allowing for insights into new demands of security and the environment of European security at any given span of time. The project of the concept will be submitted to the Parliament for consideration. It will serve as guideline while preparing relevant laws.

NATO Official on Lithuanian National Security Concept

LD2406170893 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] The Lithuanian national security concept is realistic and pragmatic, it is pleasant that it is orientated toward cooperation with the European collective security structures, said John Cleyndler, NATO deputy general secretary for political affairs, at a news conference. Lithuania has joined in an active manner the work of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] and thus greatly contributes to the preservation of security and stability in the Baltic region, he said.

John Cleyndler is leading a delegation of the NATO Political Committee that arrived on a two-day visit in Vilnius. It includes representatives of the 16 NATO countries. The aim of the visit, the head of the delegation said, is to acquaint the political and military leadership of these countries [as heard] with NATO activity during the reorganization from a defense organization to an institution of maintaining peace and consolidating security.

Members of the delegation, on their part, wish to examine the possibilities of further cooperation with the Baltic states.

The delegation was received by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas. It has met with the heads of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and National Defense, members of the Seimas National Security Committee.

Tomorrow the delegation is leaving for Tallinn.

Brazauskas Meets NATO Delegation

LD2506110893 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 93

[Text] Today President Brazauskas met with a delegation of the NATO political committee. It includes representatives of 15 NATO countries. The delegation is led by John Cleyndler, the NATO deputy general secretary for political affairs. At present he is chairman of the NATO political committee. The meeting was attended by the ambassadors of the NATO countries accredited to Lithuania.

Algirdas Brazauskas described Lithuania's political and economic situation, stressing that stability has been ever increasing. The president expressed his confidence that the litas, which will be introduced starting tomorrow, will help to consolidate the country's economy and create greater possibilities for its relations with Western countries. The president expressed his belief that Lithuania will become a member of the European Community, although the way to it will be long and difficult. He hoped for support from international organizations and NATO.

Algirdas Brazauskas acquainted the guests with the Lithuanian national security concept, which is being prepared. He stressed the great importance of cooperation with the European collective security structures. Lithuania is ready to take part in them. According to our abilities, said the president, we could contribute to the peacekeeping forces.

Members of the NATO delegation were interested in the further prospects of political and economic integration of the Baltic states, their relations with Russia, and the problem of Army withdrawal. Algirdas Brazauskas replied to many other questions.

The NATO political committee delegation met with the heads of the Foreign and Defense Ministries and members of the Seimas national security committee. Tomorrow, the delegation is leaving for Tallinn.

Russia Asked To Pay in Swiss Francs for Transit

MK2406101693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jun 93 p 2

[Tamara Nikolayeva report: "Russia Prepared To Pay for Military Transit With Other Than Swiss Francs"]

[Text] A meeting of experts, the first after the negotiations by state delegations of Lithuania and Russia in May, has ended in Vilnius. The experts conferred on the matter of Russian military transit across the territory of Lithuania. After a two-day discussion the experts agreed on rules and technical terms of shipment of military freight, and on a procedure to resolve disputes.

Transit payments proved to be a stumbling block. This question did not arise in the past because Russia paid Lithuania for its shipments at the rate set by the latter—around 80 million rubles per 4,000 cars a month running on the republic's rail tracks. The Russian side has no objections against as steep a hike as 70 percent, already announced by Lithuania. Differences have arisen as to the currency in which to pay. Lithuania will not accept rubles anymore because each month it is losing $500,000 due to the continued devaluation of the Russian currency. The Lithuanian side demands that Russia should pay for military transits in Swiss francs—a means of payment recognized in international rail shipments.

As was repeatedly the case during the meetings of experts and government delegations, Russian delegates declared that they had no authority to solve this question.

No matter how the position on the authority of the Russian delegates turns out, the military transit issue has been again returned to Russia's state delegation in a partially agreed shape. Another meeting of the state delegations is to take place at the end of this month.

Landsbergis Terms LDDP Policy 'Primitive,' 'Mistaken'

WS2506075793 Vilnius LIETUVOS AIDAS in Lithuanian 12 Jun 93 No. 112 p 4

[Article by right-wing opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis: "Primitive Policy"; under the "Opposition Leader's Column" rubric]

[Text] LDDP's [Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party] policy strikes us as primitive more frequently. Such is the intimidation of farmers with pre-war debts and the attempt to set at loggerheads two groups of people who have suffered to different degrees. Such is the self-encouragement of the authorities when drafting the laws of a police state. The efforts to negate and suppress the political opposition in the Seimas and outside it have failed. Political reports on television that clearly violate the citizens' constitutional rights to information are a shame. LDDP's statements against the opposition are falling like leaflets from Yedinstvo's [pro-Soviet movement against Lithuania's independence] helicopters. However, this is not the way to the so much proposed national policy that would be supported by a large number of people.

The LDDP made itself a laughing stock when it accused the opposition of organizing strikes, although it was fully aware that the Tevynes Santara coalition does not engage in this. There is even no need to announce a competition to find out who decided to take vengeance on the teachers and tease the students during the final examination on mathematics. Talk about "dual citizenship", which is not mentioned in Lithuanian law, have become more impudent in the Seimas and outside it. The LDDP may have wanted to win the Lithuanian emigres (the richer half) over after the explanations that "Sajudis has deprived" them of Lithuanian citizenship. However, it has spoilt this important issue in the face of Russia's demands. "One must think!" M. Gorbachev used to say to some people.

The president's letter of scolding to LIETUVOS AIDAS' editor in chief discloses the complete incompetence of his environment that cannot distinguish between events in 1990 and 1991.

The primitive policy is also reflected in the efforts that were wasted on discrediting Ambassador S. Lozoraitis' work and his immediate appointment to Italy, as though this were some particularly bad country that was only suited to him.

Certainly, the reason for this removal is different, and Italy should not feel offended. However, LDDP's calculations were too primitive: to smother the emigres' indignation at S. Lozoraitis' recall with simultaneous amendments to the citizenship law.

The meeting of the LDDP faction on 10 June to ensure that the president does not drift too far from the native "boat" is understandable from the viewpoint of the party's economic and other interests. However, this discredits the president's alleged non party status. "There are certain disagreements.... We discussed the coordination of our actions.... Decisions will be collegial," explained Mr. J. Karosas to LIETUVOS RYTAS. The material of the pyramid is undoubtedly unanimous. Former speeches about a "president for all" were unnecessary. The LDDP would simply not allow this.

The LDDP makes even graver psychological mistakes when its leaders declare that deportations, killings, and property confiscation were lesser evils in Lithuania's rural areas than the beginning of the ill-fated agrarian reform in 1991-1992.

After LDDP cadres have done their best in privatizing and devastating peasants' collective property, the party and state leaders continue to reiterate stubbornly, like some calcified collective farm propagandists, that this wealth was destroyed by Sajudis' politicians. The LDDP is trying to involve even emigres in this overseas propaganda. This party hopes that over a distance neither Finns nor Lithuanians will be able to make out who stole the facilities and emptied farms with their own hands or through assistants.

One is left with the impression that Lithuania's economic and political ship is gradually sinking, and that all the steam, as in the good old times, is wasted on propaganda whistles. This is the worst Brezhnevist tradition that must be immediately discarded.